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The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES
OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

VOL. II.

TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1921

No. 4

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Published Quarterly
At the University of Toronto Press

Price, 50c. the copy, or \$2 the year.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

IT is necessary to say once more that the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has no editorial opinions, no political prepossessions. Both in articles and reviews, it gives to writers the widest latitude with regard to expression of their views, provided these views are within the law, and are supported by reasoned argument. The Board of Editors are, indeed, anxious to have Canadian history and public affairs interpreted in these pages from as many different points of view as possible. With regard to reviews of books, all the management of the REVIEW can undertake to guarantee is that books are placed in the hands of competent reviewers, who may be relied upon to review them in good faith and without prejudice. If any author considers himself aggrieved by a book-review in these pages, he will find the management of the REVIEW only too glad to afford him reasonable space to correct the statements complained of, either in a communication from himself, or from some other authoritative person.

We welcome to Canada Mr. Basil Williams, who has come from England to succeed Professor C. W. Colby in the department of history at McGill University. Mr. Williams represents that combination of scholar and man of affairs which is the fine product of the Oxford tradition. His historical work shows that he has long been interested in the outer Empire. He is the author of the authoritative *Life of Lord Chatham*, and of the best *Life of Cecil Rhodes*. The former grew out of early studies in the foreign

policy of Walpole, published in the *English Historical Review*; the latter out of an acquaintance with the Southern Cross which began when he abandoned a safe career in England to serve in the South African War, and which was continued as part-editor of *The Times History of the War in South Africa*. In politics he is Liberal Imperialist, and twice contested Rugby in the Liberal interest; the same spirit led him in 1911 to edit a very interesting volume of *Home Rule Problems*. Since then he has edited a notable series of "Makers of the Nineteenth Century," of which his own *Cecil Rhodes* and Lord Charnwood's *Abraham Lincoln* are perhaps the chief. He is also a practical lecturer, having held in 1920 the position of Ford Lecturer at Oxford University. During the Great War he served in the Artillery, and afterwards in the Intelligence Branch. In partnership with Professor Fryer, Professor Basil Williams may be trusted to give to his students a sane and wide outlook upon Canadian and Imperial problems, and to inspire them by his high enthusiasm for accurate scholarship.

Mr. Thomas Seccombe, who has come to Queen's University to take the chair of English Literature, has also a close connection with the study of history, having been from 1891 to 1901 associated with Sir Sidney Lee as assistant editor of *The Dictionary of National Biography*. While his writings deal chiefly with English literature, he has also written a study of *Parkman and Prescott*, and he has always dealt with literature not merely as *belles-lettres*, but as an expression of the national life.

Most of the contributors to this number are well known to readers of the REVIEW. Professor George M. Wrong, who writes on *Democracy in Canada*, is head of the department of Modern History in the University of Toronto; and Mr. R. Hodder Williams, who contributes *Some Reflections on Anonymous Iconoclasm*, is an Associate Professor in the same department. Mr. Walter M. Sage, the author of the paper on *The Gold Colony of British Columbia*, is a member of the staff in History in the University of British Columbia. Captain C. E. Lart, who edits an interesting document with regard to the battle of Ticonderoga, is a resident of Cornwall, England, who has been working in the Public Record Office in London; and Colonel William Wood, the editor of the Quebec petition to Queen Victoria in 1857, is a well-known Canadian historian who lives in Quebec.

DEMOCRACY IN CANADA

TO-DAY there is probably more doubt in men's minds as to the best type of political institutions than there has been at any previous epoch of the modern world. Those who, during the American Revolution, demanded "Liberty or Death" had no doubt as to the blessings of the liberty which meant democracy. The leaders of revolution in France were certain that the path to human happiness was to be found in the liberty, equality, and fraternity which should follow the destruction of the Bourbon despotism. Later, in England, the people who secured the extension of the right to vote by the first Reform Bill believed that the nation's happiness hung on the issue. There was equal certainty on the opposing side; the Duke of Wellington could not conceive of a better system than that overthrown by the Reform Bill. In Canada, between 1840 and 1849, we find reformers describing with almost frantic earnestness the happiness certain to issue from self-government. But now this certainty is gone. Popular rights have grown; the people rule; no longer the rich but the poor control the state. The Whig party has disappeared because its tasks have been achieved and now its successor in England and in Canada, the Liberal party, is receiving its most staggering blows, not from Tories who desire no change, but from disillusioned believers in democracy who no longer hold the earlier Liberal dogmas. These, it is urged, have not touched the vital thing, the economic reorganization of society. The only person sure of himself is the man who wishes to leave things as they are, and he dreams of an impossibility.

The long-coveted democracy has thus brought new doubts. Many things in public affairs have deteriorated. The quality of most of the leaders in public life is probably not as high as it was fifty years ago. Parliament has more power, but political life has less dignity, if we may judge from some of the scenes in parliament. The editorial page of the daily newspaper is not as good as it

was, because the editor has now to reach not only the educated but the uneducated, and adjusts his tone to their needs. The cities in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which, with their intelligence and movement, ought to be guiding stars in politics, send to parliament some of the poorest type of members to be found there, and in their domestic affairs often reward with the highest honours not men of distinction but the political intriguer and the demagogue. This is how democracy has worked, and there is no going back, for power can return from the many to the few only if the many consent, and this they will never do. Thus it has come about that thoughtful men are puzzled and fearful. They have entered a forest, and they know as yet no way out.

It is at such a time that the opinions of a veteran observer, who still retains faith and hope in political society, are best fitted to produce a steadying effect. Lord Bryce¹ has been for more than sixty years an alert student of politics. His classic work, *The Holy Roman Empire*, was written when he was barely out of his 'teens. He refers to events in the sixties as if they were the happenings of yesterday. Ancient Rome is as real to him as modern Washington. He has been a professor at Oxford, and a cabinet minister in England. He is the author of the most widely-read book interpreting the politics of the United States, and was the British ambassador to that country. He has travelled in every continent and studied on the spot every type of human society. No other living man has observed more closely, or written with greater industry, or greater freedom from prepossession or abstract dogma, than this amazing veteran. And he closes his book by saying that hope is "one of the cardinal virtues", and that "Democracy will never perish till after Hope has expired".

In this utterance, it is true, there is no dogmatic faith that democracy will not perish—but hope must perish first. If democracy fails it must pave the way to something better than itself, or mankind must cease to be inspired by the faith that life is not a vain battling to end in the dismal swamp of failure. Lord Bryce has chosen six democracies by which to illustrate his study: they are France, Switzerland, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and, not least perhaps, Canada. Four of them, it will be observed, are English-speaking, and naturally so, for these are the most advanced democracies. It is well to study

¹ *Modern Democracies*. By Viscount Bryce. Two Volumes. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1921. Pp. xv, 508; vi, 676.

with these French democracy, the child of the revolution which shook the world. France remains a vast unitary state under a single legislature. Switzerland, on the other hand, is a loose federation, and for it Lord Bryce reserves his highest praise. He has not ventured to study British democracy in its home. In thus refraining he has seemed to give us Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Few are better fitted than he to analyse the democracy of Britain, for has he not shared in its government? For forty years, as he says, he has been a member of legislatures and cabinets in England; but this, he thinks, makes unbiassed observation impossible. We must respect his reasons, even though we think that his detachment would have been adequate.

Lord Bryce keeps his eye on democracy as it is, not as it might be, and defines it simply as the rule of the majority. If in a democratic state the majority is ignorant and corrupt, then democracy is ignorant and corrupt. We clear the ground at once of mystical conceptions of the sacred rule of the people. Plato thought that in Heaven might be found the idea of the perfect state. If so, its copy is not to be found on earth. The rule of the people is just the rule of the majority of men, and now of women too, in the state. It has never been proved that there is any peculiar virtue in majorities. Probably the minority is as often right as is the majority. Certainly the minority is right when it presses for some needed reforms for which it must win the reluctant consent of the majority. Orators may flatter a crowd by protesting that the people always think on a high plane. But the term "the People" has in each environment its own special significance. "The People", to the white orator in the Southern States, means the whites, to the exclusion of the blacks, who may be a majority. "The People," to the German demagogue in Silesia, would probably have meant the Teutonic and not the Slavic race.

Thus when we discuss democracy, we mean only the rule of the majority. Why has it come into being, and how has it worked? In confronting the first of these questions Lord Bryce places severe restraints upon himself. He is discussing not the origins but the working of democracy. He makes no attempt to analyse those impulses in man's being which make to him the liberty to take the wrong path more precious than the reward of taking the right path under constraint. There is no discussion of sovereignty or the social contract. Lord Bryce doubts, indeed, whether the desire for self-government is very strong in mankind.

What they desire is good government, and if they can get it without effort on their own part they are content to take no share either in setting up or in administering free institutions. The average man is rather like the indolent member of a club who wishes to be comfortable and is willing to leave everything to the committee, if only the machine is made to work smoothly. If he is denied what he considers his due, sooner or later he will make trouble. This is not to assert his desire to assume responsibility, but only his resolve to get rid of a nuisance. Men have fought tyrants not so much to assert their own right to rule but to get rid of cruelty and greed. Lord Bryce asserts that in England the people have not greatly desired political power. The Reform Bill of 1832 did indeed express a popular demand, but it was satisfied by a very moderate extension of the right to vote. Later extensions of the franchise to the masses have been made by the upper and middle classes. It is not clear that the mass of the women in England desired the vote when it came to them. It was the activities of a few educated women which brought it to women as a whole.

Now when democracy has come and we dismiss any mystical belief in it as a final form of government, we are free to confront in the spirit of reason its merits and its defects. In a good democracy, says Lord Bryce, the majority will show a high sense of duty, and the individual, since he is only one of many, will seek the welfare of the many and not that of himself alone. He will ask for no special privileges. Public questions are intricate and he must confront the labour of study to understand them. He will follow reason and not passion. He will be honest himself and demand honesty in others. If he seeks office it will be that he may render public service. Working with his fellow-citizens, he will not only recognise liberty and equality but will expand in the sympathy and kindliness which the French called fraternity and Mazzini termed humanity.

We should deceive ourselves if we should hold that as yet any democracy has produced all these qualities. Democracy is due to a variety of causes. In America it grew up because equality of social conditions involved equality in political privilege. Democracy was fostered in Europe, in some countries, at least, by religious beliefs which, making men equal in the sight of God, tended to make them equal in the sight of each other. But the most potent cause of democracy has been the unwisdom, the scornful spirit, and the crude selfishness of ruling castes

whether regal, noble, or rich, which have stirred resentment and made the many insist on asserting rights inalienable, as they thought, from manhood. To take power from others does not, however, involve the capacity of the victor himself to exercise it. We may dismiss an unworthy physician and still know not how to heal ourselves. Democratic theory has gone wrong in assuming that the right to vote brings with it either the will or the capacity to use it well. The mistake was natural. To overthrow a tyrant has involved perils and efforts which have strained the fullest capacity of revolutionaries. Little wonder that they should assume that, with the despot gone, all would be well and should forget that in themselves were the same strains of selfishness which had made the despot and that, the old tyranny vanquished, they must confront the menace of a new one.

If they faced the future without misgiving they were, by so much, off their guard. "No government," says Lord Bryce, "demands so much from the citizen as Democracy", and he adds for our comfort that "none give so much back". The citizen has not, as yet, met well the demands upon him. When self-interest surged through other channels than those of despotism, the citizen was ill equipped to meet the new form of menace. To work a sound system men must be alert, unselfish, energetic, and industrious in public affairs, and the average man was none of these. Natural indolence is perhaps the greatest enemy of well-being. It is mastered by the love of power, by ambition to be great, by pride of position, by the promise of wealth and ease, by public spirit. Only the last of these would make man do his full duty in politics, and it has not yet become the endowment of the many. The average man is quite a decent citizen. That he takes pride in his country is readily seen by his resentment at contemptuous criticism. He believes in what is called in America his "home town", and is eager and enthusiastic in celebrating its glories. He would like to do his duty. But he has his own affairs to think about. He has little training for the task of judging the problems of politics, and he is apt to adopt the indolent belief that others can look after public matters better than he and to become passive. At the time, especially in a new country, politics offer the reward of publicity and power to the self-seeker, and of gain to the corrupt. These have the eternal stimulus of self-interest, and they make democracy their tool. Hence the demagogue, the boss, and the profiteer.

To meet these dangers the best capacity in the state is necessary, and it is too often not available. It is a rough task to gain and hold the suffrages of the many, a task uncongenial to the refined and the comfortable. In Canada at least many of these are either too much occupied with necessary business, or too lacking in public spirit to take part in politics. Inferior men take what should be their place. New agencies appear for creating or controlling public opinion and, most potent of them all, the newspaper press. "It is," says Lord Bryce, "the newspaper press which has made democracy possible in large countries." Daily the newspaper addresses its thousands. Its opinions reach nearly every home. Their anonymity produces the effect of an authority impersonal and mysterious. The individual leader can be in only one place at one time, and has the limitations of his personality. The newspaper speaks everywhere and always. Great is the power of iteration. The daily repetition of opinions becomes impressive. The indolent readily adopt opinions ready-made, and the newspaper tends to become the chief working force of democracy.

A newspaper, as Lord Bryce points out, has two aspects. The first is that it disseminates news and opinions. No one need accept its opinions, and it assumes no responsibility for advocating what it declares ought to be done. It is only a voice. Its other aspect is that it must be made to pay. In Canada it has become the chief means of advertising business. To do this effectively it must go to the many. The more readers it reaches the more it is paid for reaching them. It must appeal to the average man. It must meet enterprising rivalry. If its opinions are unpopular, its readers will tend to decline in number. Yet a democracy learns by a break with what is, and by turning to the less popular course of what should be. The newspaper may have to encounter the dilemma of the timid bather; if he tries to learn to swim he may drown in the effort, while if he does not learn to swim he may in some crisis drown for lack of this knowledge. How is the newspaper to rebuke popular error and advance truth, and at the same time to remain popular for business reasons? The tendency is undoubtedly to retain popularity at the expense of boldness of opinion. Few newspapers are prepared to sacrifice financial success to the sternness of truth, and yet the newspapers are the chief educators of democracy.

Democracy, in spite of inherent difficulties in its working, has undoubtedly achieved some great results. "Let cynics say

what they will," says Lord Bryce, "Man is not an irrational animal. Truth usually wins in the long run." If democracy yields sometimes to bellicose racial and religious passions, it shrinks from the penalty of war, and it did not cause the great world conflict. Democracies have proved more honest than oligarchies. In these the few have enriched themselves and impoverished the many—witness the reign of Louis XIV in France. Under democracy, in spite of corruption, moral standards have improved. For proof of this we need only compare Walpole with even a shifty modern prime minister. Democracies have shown greater political wisdom than oligarchies. Can any one doubt that if, thirty or forty years ago, England had had a real democracy, unchecked by oligarchic class influence, the Irish question would have been settled? Lord Acton once said that a roomful of great leaders, of Luthers, Cromwells, Richelieus, Napoleons, Pitts, Peels, Gladstones and Disraelis, would really make up an encyclopaedia of political error. These leaders would differ and wrangle, while the many, knowing where the shoes pinch because they are wearing them, would make straight to the cause of trouble. Democracies too are not ungrateful to their leaders. A Henry VIII at one stroke dismisses and ruins a Wolsey; an ill-balanced German monarch flouts a veteran Bismarck. But the people do not change their devotion so quickly and will reverence and follow leaders whose day is really past. The people like a man of courage, who takes risks, and they will follow him. Many a politician has failed because he kept his ear to the ground instead of carrying his head high in the air and appealing to the devotion of the crowd.

Canada is probably the third in Lord Bryce's esteem of the six democracies. Political defects are no doubt more glaring in the United States than they are in Canada—but remedial measures are also more active and effective. Canada has little to put side by side with the alert and scientific study of public affairs so general in the United States and one of the finest products of its universities. Like the United States Canada is a vast country with every right to face the future in confidence. The climate is stimulating, if in places severe, and promotes health. Nature, says Lord Bryce, has endowed Canada with coal in quantity only second to that of the United States. He does not lay stress on the fact that the great central and most populous regions of Canada, Ontario and Quebec, are without coal. Ontario at

least is tributary to the United States for fuel. Social conditions in Canada are favourable. Agriculture is the chief industry. Most of the farmers own their own farms; there is no landlord class. There are not many great capitalists, while there is a large number of well-to-do people able to cultivate the amenities of life. Labour questions are not dangerous. In Canada there is one great and menacing problem—the antagonism in race and religion between the French and the English. No other English-speaking country is haunted by a similar problem. One might add, however, that, grave as it is, it does not approach in seriousness the problem of the negro in the United States.

Lord Bryce's account of democracy in Canada is not, on the whole, very cheering. There are good features. Public order is well preserved. The judiciary is incorruptible. There is an honest, if not a very expert, civil service. Education is widely diffused and, among those of British origin who are native to Canada, there are practically no illiterates. The demagogue has been less in evidence in Canada than in any other of the six democracies except Switzerland. Party is less rigid than it is in the United States. Here, indeed, Lord Bryce might have stated the case more strongly than he does. Literally, party has broken down in Canada. Dozens of newspapers which, a few years ago, would have sung the party tune without reserve, are now neutral and non-committal. Municipal government has been on the whole free from corruption. Recently Montreal has had its scandals, but in the other large cities there has rarely been anything more corrupt than lobbying for jobs and contracts. In the smaller towns, of the east at any rate, the defect has been an undue parsimony which has shrunk from needed expenditure on education, on roads, and on sanitation. The legislatures in Canada are still respected, and there has been no such freak legislation as that in some American states which goes so far as to name the minimum length of the sheets on the beds in hotels.

If the good features of democracy in Canada do not unite to make a brilliant picture, its bad features are sufficiently alarming. There has been gross bribery in elections. Legislatures, if not municipalities, have been corrupted by money; charges have been proved against even cabinet ministers, and it is still true that financial interests have undue weight in governmental policy. The level of honour among politicians in Canada is lower than it is among those of Australia or New Zealand. There has been jobbery, waste, and extravagance in spending public

money. Public opinion is slack and not easily aroused. Above all, the best elements in the country have tended to hold aloof from politics, and there is a lack of dignity in public life.

This is Lord Bryce's indictment of Canadian democracy. It must be said that, in respect to Canada, his insight is less penetrating than it is in regard to either the United States or Switzerland. The reason is probably that he has made only a few transient visits to Canada, while he has dwelt long in the United States, and has been frequently in Switzerland. He overestimates the number of the French in Canada. They are not the two and a half millions which would make them about one-third of the population. There are fewer than two millions (a million more are in the United States) and probably they are less than one-quarter of the population. This result is, indeed, striking enough, when we remember that the three million French in North America are descended from not more than ten thousand immigrants from France. It is not quite the case that "of those in Quebec extremely few speak English". The French in Quebec speak English in a proportion greater than that of the English who speak French. Lord Bryce says correctly that the two races live apart, but it is doubtful whether "this separation is mainly due to religion". The English-speaking Roman Catholics in Montreal also live apart from the French. The reason is probably some subtle influence of tradition and training which makes people, differing in language and history, draw away from each other.

The chief defect of Canada is its lack of political education. There is not in the country a large class of persons qualified to form and to guide opinion. The urgent problems have been those of national development, involving the free expenditure of money. When governments are spending great sums, the need of eternal vigilance is urgent. Canada inherited its political parties from England. The Toryism of England was based upon realities in society. That of Canada, which in the early days opposed the securing of self-government, was merely terrified reaction. In an old society the steadying force of traditions made the fabric of society really immune to attack from either party. Grote the historian said that he had come not to care greatly which party won in an election, for each would be bound by the realities of life. In Canada, however, the fundamentals of political life were at issue. Tories charged their opponents with the resolve to break with their British allegiance, and to create either

a republic or to join the United States. In the absence of great issues, these appeals to passion were the staples in elections. No wonder that politics ceased to attract the finer minds. The tone of public life became worse instead of better.

In the five other democracies examined we find great variety. Despotism and oligarchies have usually worked on similar lines with a central authority controlled by one strong person or by a small ruling clique. Each of Lord Bryce's six states is unlike the others. It is for Switzerland that he reserves his highest praise. Of its four million people half a million own land and are under this steadying influence of property. The Swiss people are composed of three races, and in the federal diet three languages—French, German and Italian—have official standing. Fortunately racial and religious divisions do not coincide; the French, for instance, are partly Protestant, partly Roman Catholic, so that racial unity is not protected by the barrier of language and religion. In the smaller cantons of Switzerland it is still possible to gather all the voters at one place in the open air in order to make laws,—“the oldest, simplest and purest form of democracy which the world knows” (I, 337). Judges are elected and also even school teachers. There is direct legislation by the people, and the referendum is in constant use. The President, chosen only for a year at a time, has no authority greater than that of his six colleagues on the governing body of the Federal Council. Party, which, as Lord Bryce says, has been “worked to death” in England and Canada, barely exists. In a state so small the people can judge issues for themselves and do not need party guidance. Intimidation of voters, corruption by money, and fraud in elections, are not known. No titles or decorations are given by the state. If politics are humdrum and the salaries for office holders small, none the less do men of intelligence take part in politics. In Switzerland democracy secures pure and good government.

France presents many contrasts. Four million people in Switzerland have the function of government so subdivided that each little community is really self-governing. Nearly forty million people in France are under a single political authority, which appoints to even the pettiest offices in every part of the country. France has a stupendous centralized bureaucracy. It has parliamentary government without what has lain at the basis of parliamentary government in England, only two great

parties with recognized leadership in each of them. France has a dozen parties and no recognized leaders. New combinations of groups are always possible with a resultant change of ministry.

Mediocrity is the characteristic of the French politician. For the most part men of distinguished family and leaders in the great world of business are not active in politics. There is intense cleavage in respect to religion, and a press both very good and very bad, its bad elements, owing to a loose law of libel, going to extremes hardly found in any other country. The French deputy is likely to be a lawyer, or a doctor, or even a school teacher. He is busily active among his constituents and they will expect him when in Paris to select a domestic servant or to buy an umbrella. Petty commissions of this kind, the securing of small offices for supporters, occupy much of his time. His heart is in local politics and in personal issues. He is alert, keen, and resourceful. But the range of his interests is limited. There is so much to be done by a deputy with a government that controls all expenditure everywhere and maintains power by patronage! Personal questions are the most vivid in the French chamber and behind these lies a rather drab and sometimes corrupt democracy. If France once had a Richelieu and a Mazarin to rule her, she now has in their place the local lawyer or doctor with the school-master as his chief ally. There are no great national parties. No one party has even candidates for election in anything approaching all the constituencies of France.

In the English-speaking world we find still further variety in working democracy. New Zealand has a delightful climate; its people are homogenous; there are no racial or religious cries; and there is very little crime. As a unitary state, it is different from federal Australia. In both, the Asiatic is excluded—a call to Australia to fill her vacant spaces, if she wishes to continue this policy. In both socialistic ideas of government have gone far, yet in both, in contrast with the United States and Canada, we find the great landowner. In New Zealand, with a million people, one hundred and fifty thousand are said to live from salaries paid by the government. This carries on even life insurance and a great loan business, sometimes lending money at five per cent. when the bank rate is eight or more. While there has been honesty in details of expenditure of money, needed public works have been neglected and needless ones carried out for party reasons. The result is now a heavy burden of debt. The small field, the absence of political education of the people,

give, as Lord Bryce shows, the touch of commonplace to New Zealand politics. No very cheering message comes from a democracy which had a clear field in a new land. "Corruption is rare, but the standard both of tone and manners and of intellectual attainment is not worthy of communities where everybody is well off and well educated, and where grave problems of legislation call for constructive ability" (II, 338).

The same is true of Australia. There is little corruption; it has remained for Canada and the United States to be the most corrupt of the six democracies. Public order is well preserved. Ministries have been unstable, in sharp contrast with federal Canada, where ministries tend to endure too long; in ten years federal Australia had seven cabinets, while in forty-one years South Australia had forty. Mr. Hughes, the present prime minister of Australia, has said that life in Australia is itself a gamble. Wool is one of the great products and, in the not infrequent dry seasons, so large a proportion of the sheep die that only owners with large resources can go on. One result is the large estates in Australia. Each of the three English-speaking federations, the United States, Canada, and Australia, shows the characteristics of the period of its creation. The United States is the most conservative, until recently accepting changes in the constitution only reluctantly. Canada is in form less democratic, with its appointed Senate and the apparent strength of executive authority. Federal Australia, the child of the twentieth century, has more fluid politics. The term of the House of Representatives is three years. The Senate is elected by popular vote and is more radical than the other house. To be well-off is to be suspect and this intense class antagonism excludes from politics men of wealth and even the lawyer class. Labour has the upper hand. But a Labour ministry has to accept exact direction from the caucus of the Labour party. There is no foreign element such as has in the United States corrupted municipal politics. Until recently racial and religious cries have been little heard of. Now the Irish question troubles politics. With control by labour and with the government as a great employer, wages are high and efficiency is mediocre. Lord Bryce obviously thinks that Australia is gambling with its resources and in danger of financial disaster. But his counsel is, "Never despond; unexpected good arrives as well as expected evil. . . . The more highly educated class in particular may arouse themselves to take a livelier interest in public affairs and so send more of their

best men into a political career" (II, 260, 263). This is always Lord Bryce's solvent.

The greatest democracy, that of the United States, has for Canada absorbing interest. It is Canada's only neighbour. Canada is, indeed, the only considerable country in the world with but one neighbour. The United States has only two, Mexico and Canada, presenting sufficiently vivid contrasts. It is probably a misfortune for Canada that she is subject to but one type of adjacent influence, that of a nation much more populous and powerful than herself. Had she neighbours east, west, and north, the variety of influences would be more stimulating, if there was not the barrier of language. She would be, too, less dependent on the policy of one neighbour. In some respects Canada and the United States know very little of each other. Lord Bryce is the first writer to bring together in one book adequate studies of the working of the two systems. In each English is the prevailing language, and people of British origin take the lead in politics. Both countries are deeply rooted in British traditions. It is amusingly true that, however much the United States may protest its distinct type of national life, its literary and social traditions are intimately linked with those of England. Shakespeare and Milton mean more to the literature of to-day in the United States than does the work of any American author. None the less is it true that the Americans persist in regarding themselves as a new people whose birth dates from 1776. And in some respects they are.

While many people in Canada read American newspapers and are familiar with the names of persons prominent in American public life, it is still true that the people of eastern Canada, at least, regard the United States with an interest languid compared with that which they take in England. The great books which they read on literature, history, and politics are English, not American. In Canada there is little serious study of American institutions, while in the United States there is practically none of those in Canada. The people of Canada, familiar with the working of a system in which parliament has plenary authority, can hardly understand one in which the elected legislatures fill almost a secondary place. Except in municipal affairs, no one is elected in Canada to hold a specific office or to hold office for a specific period fixed by law. At any time a legislature may be dissolved or a prime minister may be replaced, without an election, by a bitter rival, if this rival can only command the support

of parliament. Canadians find difficult of comprehension a system under which one can know for years ahead the exact date at which elections will take place. Canadians find it also hard to understand a government which has no real cabinet, though the name is used in the United States. Few Canadians realize that there is not even a nominal cabinet in such a state as New York and that the American plan is not to have a collective unity in government, but to divide power, and, in the states, at least, to elect officials to do one and only one thing, whether it is to be a secretary, or a treasurer, or a maker of roads. Canadians only dimly understand how a county can be governed with no semblance of a county council by officials each of them quite independent of other elected officials. The election of judges; a city council with two chambers: to be asked to vote at an election for or against no less than thirty important issues and in addition several scores of candidates: such things seem to the average dweller in Canada freak politics.

Canada has developed under maxims of British politics to which no heed is paid in the United States. To people steeped in British traditions too much is left to chance when an elected ruler of the state is given full executive authority for four long years; the consequences seem too serious should the test of power show him not to be the right man. A prime minister certain to hold office for four years, no matter what might happen, is hardly thinkable in Canada. It has long been held in British constitutional usage that the second chamber must give way to the popular house if the people's will has been clearly indicated on the matter at issue, and that only the popular house can initiate votes of money. But in the United States the second chamber, the Senate, has greater authority than the House of Representatives; it can even propose votes of money. Americans, for their part, would find it hard to understand the Canadian system in which members of the Senate are appointed by the leader who has a majority in the House of Commons, and in which also the federal government has the power to disallow acts passed by the local legislatures. In the United States there is, for a variety of reasons, a distrust of legislatures, and many state legislatures are forbidden to legislate on a multitude of things. Capitalists sleep the easier because of such prohibitions. In Canada these nowhere exist.

Lord Bryce's summing up of the results of democracy in the United States, while hopeful, is certainly not flattering. The

system has fostered the accumulation of great wealth by a few; there are more men of enormous wealth in the United States than in all Europe. The state legislatures and, in a lesser degree, Congress, do not enjoy public confidence, and the system does not produce great men as leaders. The civil service is not equal to the needs of a great nation. In some states the judiciary does not command respect. Criminal justice is tortuous in its methods, and men clearly guilty escape punishment. State laws are at times so badly enforced that personal and property rights are not secure. The tone of public life is not high, and parties are ruled by selfish oligarchies. Organized wealth has too much influence in securing favours from the state, while, by way of reprisal, corrupt legislators levy blackmail from corporations by threats of injurious legislation. Lord Bryce explains elaborately how all these evils have come about. They are curable. The United States has a greater proportion of men educated at universities than any other country in the world, ten times as many as continental Europe, perhaps three times as many as Great Britain. There is a constant acute analysis of public issues, and this is having a remedial effect. Not only in the federal government, but in ten of the states, there are good civil service laws. A pathway through the forest is becoming clear.

In the United States the political pot is always boiling. The belief is that the oftener elected officials have to go back to the people for a renewal of their mandate the greater is the public security. When it was suggested that the cure for ineffective or corrupt judges was to pay a higher salary and to elect for a longer period, Lord Bryce heard the answer that the real cure would be a lower salary and a shorter term so as to keep the judges in touch with the people and to prevent any class consciousness. Here is that belief in a mystical sanctity in the people which gives them eternal wisdom. To enable the people to register the decisions so constantly demanded from them, a vast machinery is needed. Lord Bryce estimates that the men working the party system in the United States are more numerous than all the elected officials of the country and more numerous than those working the political machinery of the rest of the world. In this vast organization the workers are for the most part looking after their own interests. Naturally they desire to keep up the divisions of party, and the two-party system is probably more strongly entrenched in the United States than in any other country in the world.

It is easy to deride this eternal activity of the party machine. It is so bewildering that some electors give up effort at discrimination and vote blindly or do not vote at all. What is a voter to do when confronted by a ballot with scores of names, no one of which is familiar to him? Goldwin Smith used to say that, in the municipal elections in Toronto, when he had a choice among half a score of names, he used to take counsel from his butler and vote as he advised. The butler with his vision limited to local issues would know something about the candidates. The situation was not really so ridiculous as Goldwin Smith thought. The butler no doubt was reading closely his daily evening paper. He at least knew his men and, from the point of view of an inevitable democracy, it was a good thing that he should be so well informed. If elections are incessant, attention to public questions must also be incessant. In this there is political education, and Lord Bryce is of the opinion that the habit of frequent voting stimulates thought. The whole people become seriously interested in public affairs, and public opinion becomes the real ruler. In spite of the rigours of party, in respect to elections, the press of the United States is probably more ready to discuss public questions on their merits than is that of either Canada or Great Britain. One can read a great newspaper in the United States for weeks without learning to which side in politics it adheres. In Congress members break away from party more frequently than do representatives in other countries where the continued existence of a government depends on their support.

There is little doubt that, with striking differences, Canada is treading the same path as the United States. The one conspicuous failure in the United States is in municipal government. This has been largely due to the crowding into cities of a foreign population. This population is sometimes so dominant and arrogant that in New York, for instance, it was found impossible to put on the stage *The Merchant of Venice*, showing the Jew in an unfavourable light. To newcomers the franchise was conceded lightly with the result that the reverse of the old complaint of taxation without representation appeared, and there was representation—and rule—without taxation of the penniless invaders. The same phenomenon is beginning to appear in larger Canadian cities. As the United States has increased in population, the smaller has become the number of men possible for election to national office, since only a few can have a fame reaching the millions. National leadership is also becoming

more difficult in Canada. There are no nation-wide newspapers. It is hard to move British Columbia by cries effective in Nova Scotia. But difficulties of leadership are softened in Canada by the mode of choosing them. It is the members of parliament, knowing their men, who choose the leaders, and not conventions of a thousand people with bands and songs and organized shouts for favourite sons. But in Canada because the leader is chosen by the few, it is long before he is known to, and trusted by, the many.

Lord Bryce's book is full of wise maxims, the weighty product of a rich experience. It is an encyclopaedia of teaching in what should and what should not be done. This sober study is a call to the democratic nations to confront their intricate problems in the chastened mood of those who have dared to look facts in the face. There is nothing to cause despair, but there is equally nothing to cause any great exhilaration. It is comforting to know that in a great crisis the hearts of the people respond to the appeal for effort and sacrifice. For all time the spirit of the chief democracies during the great war will remain evidence that there is a nobility in the many which, when appealed to, will save the state. We know now that, in a great crisis, democracy is not weak but strong. It is in the daily humdrum that it proves weak. In personal affairs every one knows that vigilance in respect to small details, an insistent reëxamining and readjustment of methods, is necessary to security. The private citizen must husband carefully his resources or confront blank ruin. For the state the same watchful alertness is needed. But state problems are intricate. Only a few understand them. If these are men of the right type, and the people trust them, all is well. But here is the weakness of democracy. Wealth and leisure make excuses for holding aloof. Leaders of coarser type rush in, and the working of democracy falls to the level of such leaders. There is no cure but in the self-sacrifice of good men to take their share in public affairs. The people will trust and follow the best elements in the community if these will undertake the labour of leadership. It was so unlikely a person as Machiavelli who said that the people are more prudent and stable than a prince, and show better judgment.

Has democracy, asks Lord Bryce, done anything for the soul? We may, with conviction, answer Yes. It has taught the people, however blindly, to ponder the problems of their own well-being.

It has fostered self-reliance and dignity of character among those who feel that they possess their share of authority in the state. It is slowly teaching alertness in checking the aims of designing selfishness. It has made articulate the needs of the people, even if it has not always found a remedy. It has effected searching criticism in public affairs, even though this is sometimes by the means of a scandal-mongering press. It has been the real friend of widely-diffused education. To-day, as a result of the stirring of democracy, there has come a phase of real equality, that equality of opportunity to learn which has made it possible for the labourer to read the same books and newspapers as the peer and to become his equal in intelligence. If the people possess all the wisdom that there is in the nation this wisdom has whatever increase in volume reading may bring.

Democracy has not brought purity in public life. It may be charged that it has not fostered fraternity among peoples, though this is met by its frequent and sincere efforts to befriend the down-trodden in tyrant-ridden states. It has not produced content. The growth of democracy is one chief cause of the wide-spread unrest of to-day. But discontent is not a vice, if it aims at helpful improvement and not at mere destruction. Democracy has not ended the authority of the few. Rather has oligarchy won a new authority by its sometimes insidious cultivation of the consent of the many. But this after all is, as Napoleon was wont to say, despotism by the will of the people and not by divine right, and what the people can do they can learn to undo. The best test of the strength of democracy is in the answer to the question whether those who have lived under it would be willing to change to any other known form of government. A chamber, as Cavour said, is better than an ante-chamber. Under the worst evils of democracy the people are at least free to exercise their own judgment and to make effective their own decisions.

GEORGE M. WRONG

SOME REFLECTIONS ON ANONYMOUS ICONOCLASM¹

THE historians of our post-war politics will have small excuse to undervalue the importance of personalities in the modern democratic state. Reticence and suspicion may continue to dwell in Record and Foreign Offices. Here and there a link may be lost by the obstinate loyalty to service rules of some soldier or permanent official who "resigned owing to ill-health", or by the tradition of cabinet honour that in the British commonwealths still steadfastly resists the easier ethics of the new journalism. But in the field of intimate biography we are building mighty stacks of straw for the makers of bricks. Contarini Fleming's "life without theory" has come into its own. Mr. Keynes and Mr. Lansing, Mrs. Asquith and Colonel Repington, Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Blunt, Sir Philip Gibbs and Captain Peter Wright—already their name is legion. Thus are laid the foundations of the new legends of our leaders in war. But *autres temps, autres mœurs*. The legends will not be Napoleonic; neither will they create Honest Abes.

The diarist, the apologist, the smasher of idols may be devoured by the intellectuals for their spice and their epigrams, and then thrown aside. But none the less they are potentially important as creators of a new *histoire intime*—such stuff as legends are made of. They have captured the public ear as triumphantly as the parliamentary sketch writer challenged the reporter of debate ten or fifteen years back. In the war and in the peace the spot light of modern publicity was thrown always and incessantly upon individuals—generals, prime ministers, presidents, kings. Through six of the most crowded years of history that great mystery, "reason of state," let in only such

¹"A Gentleman with a Duster": *The Mirrors of Downing Street* (1920) and *The Glass of Fashion* (1921). London: Mills and Boon.

"Anonymous": *The Mirrors of Washington*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921.

"Domino": *The Masques of Ottawa*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1921.

light as might silhouette the persons of the drama. And the instinct for what the public wants would have been deficient indeed if the crew behind the footlights had missed the first opportunity to pick out for the great audience the features of such actors as they had watched "back-stage". It may be that temptation sometimes dulled discretion; that one or two have forgotten, in very delicate times, that a dangerous book written in English is a declaration of war on all democracy. But the future historian will know better than the contemporary how to appreciate the weight of this criticism. The veil-lifters are themselves nearly all public figures. They come out into the open when they hit; another hits back; and extravagances cancel out.

But another form of intimate history, now no less popular than autobiographical reminiscence of other people, will be more difficult to appraise. Its essence is anonymity, pessimism, iconoclasm. And if Junius is documentary evidence in one age, why not, in another, "A Gentleman with a Duster", who "became famous in twenty-four hours"?

The Mirrors of Downing Street has run through twelve editions in Great Britain alone. It is brilliant, savage, shocking. The disillusion that it breathes exactly suits the days of disenchantment in England and distrust in America. It washes enough dirty linen to be sensational, and claims a moral excuse for publication which makes men feel that dirty linen ought to be washed. It makes new statements of fact which, though undocumented by even the writer's name, have often every appearance of verisimilitude. Its innuendos are almost always skilful. The "Gentleman with a Duster" gravely apologizes that "inspired by a pure purpose, I might very easily have said far more than I have said". He was evidently behind the scenes; and while he chooses to remain just a "Gentleman with a Duster" it is not for us, but for the more cautious of our successors, to decide just how far behind the scenes he was.

If this book stood alone it might well have been treated, perhaps amiably, certainly not too gravely, as the reaction of the sight of aftermath upon a war worker. The author has been frequently likened by the reviewers to the Lytton Strachey of *Eminent Victorians*. The parallel seems superficial, for Mr. Strachey's opinions of Cardinal Manning or Florence Nightingale are documented, however pungent, while "A Gentleman with a Duster" has chosen to put a tremendous strain upon credulity.

But—granting the parallel—*Eminent Victorians* was an isolated *tour de force*; and Mr. Strachey the brilliant iconoclast is forgotten in Mr. Strachey the eminent historian. It is easy to imagine the trivialities about Queen Victoria's daily life that he might have made to pass for the background of his legend, and very deliberately ignored.

But *The Mirrors of Downing Street* does not stand alone. The publishers, and for that matter the public, saw to that. Within a few months "A Gentleman with a Duster" has given us a second edition of personalities, with more moralization and fewer epigrams. "Anonymous" has examined the *Mirrors of Washington*; and now "Domino" is poking holes in the *Masques of Ottawa*. These three anonymities have presented to the future historians ready-made judgments of the manners, the morals, and the motives of fifty-one of the outstanding figures of the democracies of England and North America. The studies are very provocative, and will almost certainly draw fire. A biographer of Mr. Balfour has already entered the lists to chastise the "Gentleman with a Duster". But the new *histoire intime* is becoming a cult. The time has come to weigh its value. It may be that the historian may be called on to decide very early in his researches whether any *histoire intime* is a safe guide to the study of the war generation.

The three writers have given us considerable variety by which to judge the new method. He of Downing Street takes as his central facts the winning of the war and the tragedy of the khaki peace. He of Washington focusses the attention primarily on the Republican triumph of 1920. He of Ottawa, calling the subject of his first sketch "the unelected Premier of Canada", has the forthcoming general elections with him in most of his pages. The first has certainly been in personal relationships of some kind with most of the big war and post-war figures in English politics; the second knows less about high policy in the United States, more about party machinery; the third is somewhat ostentatiously an outsider—"Do not imagine that I spend much time at once in Ottawa." A difference in method naturally follows. The sensationalism of the first book wanes in the second and is almost absent in that which deals with Canadian national figures. (This last book, by the way, in spite of some qualities missing in both the others, is in every way of less importance. It offers little that is not opinion, and opinion is not the *métier* of the intimate historian.) The Englishman, from his inside

position, talks the most small scandal and drags us down most often to the commonplace. Tit-bits like Lord Kitchener's lack of scruple in obtaining possession of *objets d'art*, or Mr. Lloyd George with "a cigar in the depths of an easy-chair, with Miss Megan Lloyd George on the arm, and a clever politician on the opposite side of the hearth", or Mr. Asquith "laughing deeply at a daring jest" are watered down by the time we reach Ottawa to the sartorial characteristics of premiers past and present. But it is fair also to say that the Englishman best appreciates the value of new facts (pending contradiction, they may be accepted as facts) in the serious estimation of public character.

However various their methods, the three arrive at one common conclusion that will have importance if they and their imitators really succeed in creating a post-war legend. They are out-and-out pessimists about the morals and intelligence displayed by democratic government under fire. Again, they approach by different roads. "A Gentleman with a Duster" would have us see in him a crusader believing that he must call on aristocracy to repent. "Domino" of Ottawa believes that "it is better to be a hopeful cynic, than a disgruntled idealist". "Anonymous" (from Washington) does not appear to believe in anything at all. But their gambits quickly lead to a single form of attack—smash the idols! They easily succeed in drawing an ugly picture. Men like Lord Carnock, Lord Fisher, Lord Rhondda, Mr. Root, are too gentlemanly, too big, too able, or too much interested, to be allowed to serve the state. The men on top are riddled with intellectual or moral infirmities. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith have lost the nonconformist conscience. The American Ambassador in London "lives on other peoples' weaknesses". Mr. Hoover has "no political intelligence". Sir Robert Borden "led by going alongside". "'Call me Jim' is the mental sea-level of the Republican administration." Mr. Root is the standing warning that "if you have an adroit and energetic mind . . . and must enter politics, hide it; otherwise democracy will distrust you. Whatever you do, be dull." "A man goes to Ottawa burning with zeal to inaugurate political liberation. Six months or a year produces sleeping-sickness." And so down go all the idols like nine-pins. There are a few survivors—Lord Haldane, whom democracy betrayed; Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, for whose "reinterment on the Supreme Bench" we are told the good Republican is beginning to pray; General Currie, the Canadian government's "worst D.S.C.R. problem"; and most of the

princes of industry and commerce. But of the politicians whom democracy allowed to win the war and make the peace, hardly one survives.

Now the business of the historian is to estimate values, and contemporary observers who destroy values are so many darkeners of counsel. Their present tendency threatens so to overemphasize the dead-level of democracy as utterly to misrepresent the political landscape. They rejoice to remove mountains of achievement and to set monuments upon the hillocks of might-have-been. For the "Gentleman with a Duster" the central British figure of the war and the peace is just "a man of straw". It is said of him that a scholar untried in practical politics is his ideal prime minister.

The advantages and disadvantages of anonymity have been widely canvassed. It will seldom appeal to the historian unless distinguished by continuous practice and coldly-reasoning impartiality, neither of which *desiderata* has yet been met by post-war writers. But there are two graver charges of malversation (for legend-making is a public trust), to be preferred against our intimate iconoclasts. First, they emphasize failure, and failure is the most dangerous criterion imaginable in a comparison between "ins" and "outs". No great harm can come *per se* of the exaggeration of good qualities in the occasional idol whom they have spared or built. But all proportion vanishes at once when, against the exaggeration of good in a few, they set the exaggeration of bad in very many. They are far too ready to select bad qualities about which to be cynical. They pander to the inverted snobbery of the vulgar, which is tickled by being assured that the best that the state can find to honour are just common clay. They cannot, it would seem, always keep themselves untarnished by the atmosphere they create, for one of them offers us nothing more discouraging in his diatribe than the spectacle of his own failure to live up to his introductory homily when, at the end of several pages of circumstantial evidence about the villainy that compassed Lord Haldane's fall, he does not name—although he almost claims omniscience on the subject—the cads who "now sun themselves in the prosperity of public approval". On the other hand, his real contributions to history are studies in success—a picture of Mr. Lloyd George persuading munitions magnates to pool their secrets, another of Mr. Churchill risking political ruin by mobilizing the Grand Fleet at Lord Fisher's insistence without waiting to consult the cabinet. The truth

is that history is not made by pots calling kettles black. The only positive judgment of public character that is worth attention bases itself on the best that it can find to say, not the worst; on the achievement of the man, not upon his failure to be the superman. The great portrait-painter studies his subject in many moods, but the canvas shows but one—the strongest. It is not the master but the cartoonist who watches to catch his man in the looser moments for the sake of presenting to the public a design that matches his own conception or theirs, buff or blue. The result is in the first case the man, in the second a caricature.

This is the second objection to the methods of the writers of *histoire intime*, namely, that they range themselves with the cartoonists. The pencils of F. C. G. or Max Beerbohm have become the pens of men with an "uncanny power of vivid phrase-making". Concerned with the study not of normal people in normal times but of leaders burdened with unprecedented responsibilities, working under tremendous pressure, peculiarly susceptible to every kind of mental and physical reaction, the phrase-makers are trying to create legends by searching the occasional hour of relaxation for eccentricities and shortcomings in the common round of daily life. Triumphantly they catch the weary Titan off guard in his privacy, and think to prick thus the bubble of his public reputation.

The "Gentleman with a Duster" has made something of a fighting-ground of his assertion that Mr. Balfour's alleged indifference to servants is suitable and fair comment in an appraisal of his public career. Now the aphorism that "no man is a hero to his valet" is demonstrably far sounder than the proverb that "a prophet is not without honour save in his own country". The valet does not honour, not because he sees the intimate side of the man—(was Benjamin Disraeli no hero to Mary Wyndham Lewis?)—but because he is a valet. The valet resents variety; he can seldom appreciate that the absence of personal eccentricity is far more likely to be a vice than a virtue; and he never stops acting to keep up appearances.

One obsession in particular may beset the valet of the public man. He may never reconcile himself to that public man's duty to give every ounce of the best that is in him to the public, and to his consequent right to be judged by what he does for the public. The statements in the *Mirrors of Downing Street* may be true or they may be false. The defence of them in *The Glass of*

Fashion is woefully unconvincing. The point at issue, perfectly obvious in Mr. Raymond's retort, is the admissibility of private relationships of this kind as evidence of a public man's public character and service. The "Gentleman with a Duster" misses it entirely; but if there is really such a thing as the bar of history, is it conceivable that its verdict on public fame will be affected by kitchen gossip? There are few less agreeable personal traits than lack of consideration for domestic servants. But it would matter no more, in the next generation's estimate of his public character and utility, that Mr. Balfour should not have said good morning to his butler during the Peace Conference than that he should have read himself to sleep every night with detective novels while writing *The Philosophy of Doubt*. It is unfortunate that so great an admirer of Mr. Gladstone as the "Gentleman with a Duster" claims himself to be, has not realized the plain truth that there are hidden things in life that are very much better left hidden.

And so he who delves into the intimacies of public men's lives to find arguments of state is beset with snares. We may at least be grateful that "Domino" of Ottawa appears to see them and to draw back: "The little blank spots in Meighen's temperament are things that people like to talk about; when the same idioms [*sic*] in an average man would be set down as mild insanity." The new historian will remember with the new theologian that "Cain and Abel live on our street. Perhaps if we knew more about Abel we should be more tolerant to Cain." He will not mistake idols for gods. He will recall that an Athens may not only desire but need a Themistocles rather than an Aristides.

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

THE GOLD COLONY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

IT was in the early spring of 1858 that the gold rush to the Fraser River began. A new El Dorado had been discovered, and the wildest rumours were circulated in San Francisco and other American Pacific coast ports. This time the "strike" was on British territory, but that mattered but little to the Californian miners. It was enough for them that gold was to be had, and every ship clearing from San Francisco for Victoria and the Fraser River was crowded to capacity. The feverish excitement which then prevailed may be gauged by the following figures. In April 455 persons set sail from San Francisco bound for the new gold fields. In May the number was 1,262, but in June it jumped to 7,149. July saw the climax of the rush. The total for that month was 6,278, and of these 1,732 persons left San Francisco on a single day. By the middle of July the total number of miners in the gold district was over 30,000, but by August the fever had passed and only 254 set out in that month for the diggings.¹ The natural reaction had set in, and the reports being sent back from the Fraser were by no means so glowing as they had been.

It is to this gold rush that the settlement of the mainland of British Columbia is chiefly to be attributed. Before 1858 all that vast territory was practically a closed game preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company, the hunting grounds of half-breed and Indian trappers, a land of mountains, rivers, lakes, and primeval forests. There were a few forts along the Fraser and in New Caledonia, as northern British Columbia was then termed. There was some cultivation around the forts, for the Company was by no means blind to the possibilities of agriculture in British Columbia, but no attempt had been made, or contemplated, to induce settlers to cross the International boundary from Washington and Oregon. The fur-trader and the settler cannot exist long side by side, a fact which the Hudson's Bay Company, with

¹ Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, II, 17.

its Oregon experiences fresh in its mind, was by no means likely to forget.

Of course, the gold miners were prospectors and not settlers. Their main interest was centered in the "pan" and the "placer," the "dust" and the "nugget." By nature they were transients, ready to push on from sand bar to sand bar, ever intent on discovering the elusive "pay streak" along the banks, or even in the river bed, of the Fraser. But their coming meant the doom of the fur-trader and the establishment of permanent or semi-permanent "camps." Above all it meant the setting up of some sort of settled government in the new gold region.

At the time of the gold rush to the Fraser, the Hudson's Bay Company still reigned supreme over all Western Canada, from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. But its rule had lately been challenged, and it had hardly recovered from the investigation of 1857. The select Committee of the British House of Commons appointed in that year, headed by the Right Honourable Henry Labouchère, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and numbering among its influential members Mr. Gladstone, had reported in favour of ending in the year 1859 the exclusive sway of the Hudson's Bay Company over the vast territories west of the Great Lakes. It had also expressed itself of opinion that the connection of the Company with Vancouver Island, established by the Royal Grant of 1849, should be terminated as soon as was convenient, and that "means should also be provided for the ultimate extension of the colony [i.e., of Vancouver Island] over any portion of the adjoining continent to the west of the Rocky Mountains on which permanent settlement may be found practicable."² As events proved, the gold rush to the Fraser merely hastened the carrying out of this policy.

Before, however, we can investigate the reasons which led the imperial authorities to set up a separate government for the mainland and to create the colony of British Columbia, it will be well to outline the state of affairs in the neighbouring colony of Vancouver Island since this has direct bearing upon the early history of British Columbia. The Royal Grant of 1849 had made over to the Hudson's Bay Company sovereign rights over Vancouver Island, provided that the Company established there "a settlement or settlements of resident colonists."³ The Company had

² *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. iv.

³ *Vancouver Island Papers*, 1849, 103, p. 15.

lived up to the letter but not to the spirit of the agreement, and the few settlers who were on the Island, for the most part retired servants of the Company, were much dissatisfied with existing conditions.⁴ In his evidence before the Select Committee in 1857, James Cooper, who had settled at Metchosen, Vancouver Island, stated that the population of the Island had decreased since he had been there, and attributed this fact to the mal-administration of the Hudson's Bay Company. He went on to state that there was no encouragement for immigration into the country and that many people who had come to Vancouver Island had left it. He attacked the courts of justice set up by the Company, and considered the chief justice incompetent. Of course Cooper, although he had been for several years a member of Governor Douglas's council, was bitterly opposed to the Company, but his evidence is corroborated by that of other inhabitants of Vancouver Island. Land was sold for five dollars an acre, or four times the price demanded in neighbouring American territory. Moreover, the best land was held by the Hudson's Bay Company or its auxiliary the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, which had been formed to develop and manage the lands of the parent company, and the settlers usually had to go miles out from Victoria in order to get a patch to clear and cultivate. Alfred Waddington, in his *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, has put the case thus:⁵

The truth is, the Company did not wish for colonists. Not that it refused to sell ground; on the contrary, any settler might go and choose it, when it was measured out to him and he paid for it. But as there was nobody but the Company to sell to or trade with, and as the Company only bartered, or seldom bought for cash, few wished, when their farm began to produce, to be obliged to exchange their goods for blankets, pots and pans, powder, or old muskets. In presence of all these objections many declined settling on the Island, and those who did without positively buying ground were treated as interlopers. Even to this day we are treated as interlopers, whilst foreigners are told that "they have not been invited".

⁴ *Report*, p. 190. The Hudson's Bay Company asserted in 1852 that they had sold 1,478½ acres of land to 11 persons, and 19 more persons had applied for 2,355 acres, land which was being surveyed. During the same time the Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Company, had "at their own expense, respectively sent out 271 males with 80 females and 84 children belonging to them. These men were chiefly agricultural labourers, the remainder were farm bailiffs, miners and mechanics" (*Vancouver Island Papers*, 1852, 83, p. 2). These facts are eloquent.

⁵ Alfred Waddington, *The Fraser Mines Vindicated, or the History of Four Months*, Vancouver, 1858, p. 34.

The government of the Island was vested in a governor, a council, and an assembly. The first governor, Richard Blanchard, had been sent out from England by the imperial authorities in exercise of a right reserved by the Royal Charter of 1849. Blanchard's appointment had been made against the wishes of the Company, and his régime was unique in the annals of British Columbia. Having tried for two years to exist in a totally impossible position, in which his chief official duties were confined to writing despatches or acting in the capacity of a justice of the peace, with no place to reside except on ship-board or in the Hudson's Bay forts as an unwelcome guest, and with no salary from which to meet even necessary expenses, Blanchard retired in 1851, with more dignity than solvency, to the Home Land. He reappeared in 1857 as a witness against the Company which had treated him so shabbily. His successor in the governorship was James Douglas, the well-known chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who from 1849 on had been the real ruler from Fort Victoria both of Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia.

Douglas was assisted by a council of three, which increased to four in April, 1853. It is noted by Waddington that all the members of council had been or were servants of the Company. As the published minutes of the council amply testify, the chief duty of that body was to assent to acts introduced for its consideration by the governor. The council can hardly be said to have represented the people.

Nor was the Assembly, which was set up in 1856 and elected on a very restricted franchise, much more representative. It contained seven members, six of whom had been connected with either the Hudson's Bay Company or the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.⁶ The Assembly went through the motions of carrying on popular government, but that is the best that can be said for it.

The real ruler of the Island was, therefore, the governor and chief factor, James Douglas. He was well fitted for his rôle of czar. His bust in the Provincial Archives at Victoria gives one a fair conception of the man. The firm set mouth, the erect chin, the heavy nose, and the shaggy brows, proclaim him to have been

⁶ De Cosmos, in the *British Colonist*, December, 1858, states that "only one was wholly independent, the others were either Hudson's Bay Company or Puget Sound Company servants".

a master of men. Neither by nature nor by training was he a democrat. There is no doubt that he did much for British Columbia, and that the province owes him an eternal debt of gratitude, for a strong hand was needed to guide the destinies of the infant colonies. He ruled Vancouver Island and British Columbia and governed them well at a time when a weak man would have shipwrecked everything, but he always belonged to the old school. The best years of his life had been spent in the service of the Great Company, and he remained to the end in reality, if not in name, the chief factor over the Western Department.

Such was the man and such was the government which had to cope with the gold rush on the Fraser. Actually, in point of law, on account of the Royal Grant of 1849, the government of Vancouver Island had no authority over the mainland of British Columbia. But if, as the governor of Vancouver Island, James Douglas had not the actual sovereignty over the new gold fields, as the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, he had, if not authority over the miners, none the less control over the fur-trade, and still maintained practically supreme sway over the Indians. The miners were bound to come at once into contact, if not into conflict, with the Indians and the fur-traders. In addition, the bulk of them on their way to the Fraser were likely to land at Victoria, which was then the capital of Vancouver Island, and the natural port for the mainland.

That quiet and aristocratic city, or village as it was then, was profoundly stirred by the arrival of the American gold searchers. Waddington has left us a vivid description of conditions on his arrival there.⁷

On landing in Victoria we found a quiet village of about 800 inhabitants. No noise, no bustle, no gamblers, no speculators or interested parties to preach up this or underrate that. A few quiet, gentlemanly-behaved inhabitants, chiefly Scotchmen, secluded as it were from the whole world, and reminding one forcibly of the line of Virgil,

"Et pene toto divisos ex orbe Britannos."⁸

Though not perhaps so shrewd as Californians, they evidently understood the advantages of the situation, were quietly awaiting the results, and more or less acquainted with the country seemed

⁷ *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, p. 15.

⁸ So Waddington; the correct version of the quotation is, "Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos" (Virgil, *Eclogue* 1, line 67).

rather surprised that a people so sharp as the Californians were supposed to be, should be running after such an impossible bubble as the Bellingham Bay trail.⁹ As to business there was none; the streets were grown over with grass, and there was not even a cart. Goods there were none, nor in the midst of this "Comedy of Errors" had a single California merchant thought of sending a single bag of flour to Victoria! The consequence was that shortly after our arrival the bakers were twice short of bread, and we were obliged to replace it first by pilot bread and afterwards with soda crackers.

Nor was this the only trouble of the California miners. They soon found that the governor and chief factor James Douglas was by no means ready to throw open the new gold country to them; in fact Douglas had, as early as December, 1857, issued a proclamation closing the new gold fields except on certain conditions. This proclamation laid down the absolute rights of the Crown to "all mines of gold and all gold in its natural place of deposit within the districts of Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers" and added that "all persons who shall take from any lands within the said districts any gold, metal, or ore containing gold, without being duly authorized in that behalf by Her Majesty's Colonial Government, will be prosecuted both criminally and civilly as the law allows."¹⁰ In issuing this proclamation Douglas exceeded his authority, for his commissions as governor of Vancouver Island and lieutenant-governor of the Queen Charlotte Islands did not extend to the mainland. This fact he recognized, for in his despatch to the Colonial Office reporting the above proclamation he included the following sentence: "Moreover, should Her Majesty's Government not deem it advisable to enforce the rights of the Crown, as set forth in the proclamation, it may be allowed to fall to the ground and become a dead letter."¹¹

Needless to say, the governor did not publish this proviso in the colony, but waited till he received a reply from the Colonial Secretary, Labouchère. In the meantime, as might readily be expected, the publication of the proclamation was rather a staggerer to the seekers after the new El Dorado. Their feelings can be imagined when they learned that the license fee imposed had been fixed in December, 1857, at 10 shillings per month, to be paid in advance. That fee, incidentally, was soon raised to 21

⁹ This was an alternative route for the gold fields, an overland trail through Washington Territory.

¹⁰ *Gold Discovery Papers*, 1858, p. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

shillings a month. It was only too evident that Douglas was determined to keep the gold rush and the gold fields under rigid control. A perusal of his correspondence with Labouchère clearly shows this. When the first gold strike within British territory was reported to Douglas in March, 1856, by Angus McDonald, clerk in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Colville in the Upper Columbia District, Douglas had written to Labouchère¹² suggesting the possibility of a tax on all persons engaged in gold digging and pointing out the impossibility of levying such a tax without the aid of military force. To this Labouchère had replied on August 4, 1856, advising against the imposition of such a tax, but leaving to Douglas discretion "to determine the best means of preserving order in the event of any considerable increase of population flocking into this new gold district", and asking for full information from time to time on the subject. In July, 1857, Douglas reported to Labouchère¹³ that the Indian tribes of Thompson's River had lately taken "the high-handed, though probably not unwise course, of expelling all the parties of gold diggers, composed chiefly of persons from the American territories who had forced an entrance into their country". The natives apparently wished to monopolize the gold deposits for their own benefit and feared lest the influx of gold miners would interfere with the annual salmon runs in the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. To the Hudson's Bay chief factor the Indian trade was of more importance than gold-digging.

In this connection it is interesting to note the attitude taken towards the Douglas régime by Amor De Cosmos in his editorial in the first number of the *British Colonist*, under the date of December 11, 1858. De Cosmos was, of course, the champion of political reform, and one of the greatest opponents of Douglas and his administration, which he denounced as the "Family-Company-Compact". He was, none the less, one of the ablest and most independent men in Vancouver Island, and he later became, after Confederation, a prime minister of the province of British Columbia. His opinion of Douglas's administration was as follows:

We do believe that no man ever had a more favourable opportunity to distinguish himself as a statesman than Governor Douglas. Everything conspired in his favour. Gold was discovered in British

¹²Douglas to Labouchère, April 16, 1856, *Gold Discovery Papers*, p. 5; Labouchère to Douglas, *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹³Douglas to Labouchère, July 15, 1857, *Gold Discovery Papers*, p. 7.

Columbia. Tens of thousands came eager to engage in the introduction of all the appliances of civilization, and thus lay in a few weeks the foundation of a nation in a land almost unknown. Nothing was required but mind to organize, and the disposition to use it. Governor Douglas was the most prominent person here at this auspicious season. He was the only one who could with colour of right interfere. Had he then taken due advantage of that happy combination of circumstances, history would have ranked him with Clive and with Hastings; he would have received the merited honour of adding a bright jewel to the British Crown. Had he then proved himself a statesman, he would have been clearly entitled to a special reward at the hands of his Sovereign. To-day he would have been the most popular man in these colonies. His life would have been honoured; his death lamented; and his name imperishable.

Unfortunately for these colonies, Governor Douglas was not equal to the occasion. He wanted to serve his country with honour, and at the same time preserve the grasping interests of the Hudson's Bay Company inviolate. In trying to serve two masters he was unsuccessful as a statesman. His administration was never marked by those broad and comprehensive views of government, which were necessary to the times and to the foundation of a great colony. It appeared sordid; was exclusive and anti-British; and belonged to a past age. A wily diplomacy shrouded all. An Administration so marked—one with a doubtful claim to "exclusive trade and navigation"—could not well be other than unpopular, and unsuccessful.

De Cosmos was right when he said that "Douglas was not equal to the occasion". Douglas's dual position as chief factor and governor was wholly impossible, and he had not yet been forced by the imperial government to choose which office he would hold. In the meantime, he tried unsuccessfully to serve two masters, and to protect the "exclusive trade and navigation" of the Hudson's Bay Company. This meant that restrictions and regulations were to be placed upon the entrance into British Columbia of the California miners.

But, regulations to the contrary notwithstanding, nothing could possibly have kept back the tide of prospectors, and they poured in during the spring and summer of 1858 by overland trails and by steamship to Victoria and Port Townsend and Whatcom, Washington. Many of them endeavoured to cross from Victoria to the mouth of the Fraser in skiffs, whaleboats,

and canoes.¹⁴ Numbers of these enthusiasts seem to have perished in the tide-rips in the straits and gulf of Georgia. At first the only steamship accommodation allowed was provided by the Hudson's Bay Company's steamers, but a little later Douglas, on the payment of a royalty for each trip, permitted American steamers to enter the Fraser. He even entered into negotiations with the United States Mail Steam Ship Company, which had been operating along the Californian coast, whereby the American company should place steamers on the navigable route between Victoria and the Falls of Fraser River, one hundred and thirty miles from the mouth of the Fraser. These steamers should carry the Hudson's Bay Company goods into the Fraser River, and no other; furthermore, they should carry no passengers except those who had "taken out and paid for a gold mining license and permit from the Government of Vancouver Island". In addition, the American company was to pay to the Hudson's Bay Company, as compensation, two dollars head money for every person carried into the Fraser River. In return for all this, the United States Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company was to enjoy all profits from river transport. Nothing could show more clearly than this arrangement Douglas's position towards the Company, the imperial government, and the unwelcome miners.

Nor was this all. Douglas on May 8, 1858, issued a proclamation stating that it was reported that "certain boats and other vessels have entered Fraser's River for trade" and "warning all persons that all such acts are contrary to law, and infringements upon the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, who are legally entitled by law to trade with Indians in the British possessions on the north-west coast of America, to the exclusion of all other persons, whether British 'or Foreign". The proclamation then went on to state that after fourteen days from that date "all ships, boats and vessels, together with the goods laden on board, found in Fraser's River or in any of the bays, rivers, or creeks of the said British possessions on the north-west coast of America, not having a license from the Hudson's Bay Company, and a suffrance from the proper officer of the Customs at Victoria, shall be liable to forfeiture and will be seized and condemned according to law".¹⁵

Fortunately for British Columbia, when Douglas's despatches

¹⁴ Bancroft, *British Columbia*, p. 364.

¹⁵ *B. C. Papers*, Pt. I, p. 12: Enclosure in No. 1, Douglas to Stanley, May 19, 1858.

reached London two months later, the new Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the distinguished novelist, was by no means ready to accept such cavalier action on the part of the chief factor and governor. On July 16, 1858, we find Lytton writing to Douglas in no unmeasured terms. He disallowed the Proclamation of May 8, and also disapproved of the terms proposed to the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company. At the same time he laid down certain rules for Douglas to follow. These rules, since they show forth, very completely, the policy of the Colonial Office regarding the difficult situation created by the discovery of gold on the mainland, are quoted in full:¹⁶

In strict law, your Commission extends to Vancouver's Island only; but you are authorized under the necessity of the case, to take such measures, not inconsistent with the general rights of British subjects and others within Her Majesty's Dominions.

I approve, therefore, of your having detached an officer of the Customs from Vancouver's Island (if the intention announced in your Despatch was carried into execution) for the purpose of preventing the landing in Fraser's River of articles prohibited under the Customs Laws to which you refer.¹⁷

Subject to this restriction Her Majesty's Government wish no obstacle to be interposed to the disembarkment of passengers and goods at the mouth of Fraser's River by foreign vessels.

But it is necessary to maintain the principle, that the navigation of Fraser's River above the mouth is open in law to British vessels only. American or other foreign vessels, therefore, if admitted to navigate the River (to which it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that no unnecessary obstacles should be interposed) should be required to take a license from yourself or such officer as you may delegate for the purpose.

But I must distinctly warn you against using the powers hereby intrusted to you in maintenance of the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company in the territory.

The Company is entitled, under its existing licence, to the exclusive trade with the Indians, and possesses no other right or privilege whatever.

¹⁶ *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 42, Lytton to Douglas, July 16, 1858.

¹⁷ Douglas had in his despatch of May 19 stated that he had placed a customs officer at the mouth of the Fraser in order to prevent the entrance of such goods as spirits, arms, ammunition, "and other prohibited and noxious articles". These goods were prohibited by the customs laws as extended to the British possessions in America, and their entrance was an infringement of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company.

It is, therefore, contrary to law, and equally contrary to the distinct instructions which I have to convey to you, to exclude any class of persons from the territory, or to prevent any importation of goods into it, on the ground of apprehended interference with this monopoly—still more to make any Governmental regulations subservient to the Revenues or interests of the Company.

This is fairly strong language for such an eminently prosaic and proper thing as a Colonial Office despatch, but it was apparent to the Home authorities that Douglas had in his dual capacity been unable to be perfectly just both to the imperial government and to the Hudson's Bay Company. It was hardly to be expected that Douglas, who had been connected with the fur-trading monopoly for fully thirty years before he took upon himself the office of colonial governor, would turn his back on the Great Company. None the less Douglas was a loyal British subject and was intent upon setting up a strong and legitimate form of government among the miners of the Fraser River. It is typical of Douglas not only that he accepted Lytton's instructions and acted on them forthwith, but that he also quoted in his defence the despatch of the Duke of Newcastle, dated October 22, 1853, in support of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. He then claimed that the proclamation of May 8, 1858, was based on Newcastle's opinion, voiced in that despatch, that it would be prudent for Douglas to issue a proclamation warning all persons against the consequences of infringement of the Hudson's Bay Company's rights and forbidding foreigners from fishing within three miles of the shore. The old chief factor was not willing to submit too tamely to the new interpretation of the Company's rights which Lytton had formulated from the Colonial Office.

For a matter of fact, there were three possible solutions for this new and vexed constitutional and administrative problem. The first was to extend the authority of the government of Vancouver Island over the mainland of British Columbia. This would have been, except for one insuperable obstacle, the easiest and least expensive solution. The Royal Grant of 1849, however, still remained in force, and Her Majesty's government was by no means ready to hand over the mainland as well as the island to the Hudson's Bay Company. The second solution was probably the most obvious, but as affairs then stood the least workable. This was to annul the Royal Grant of 1849 at once and to create a new crown colony including both the Island and the mainland. To this there were several objections, among them

being the different economic conditions in the two localities. Vancouver Island was, and would probably remain, chiefly agricultural. The gold fever was prevalent on the mainland which, except for the mining camps and Hudson's Bay Company's forts, was still a vast wilderness. It would be years before it could become an agricultural country. Thus the only thing to do was to erect the mainland of British Columbia into a separate crown colony. This was accordingly done by the Act of August 2, 1858.

That Act, which was the Magna Carta of the mainland, laid down what were to be the boundaries, administration, and legal system of the new colony. The boundaries of the new colony¹⁸ were to stretch from the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Georgia on the west to the summit of the Rocky Mountains on the east, and from the American border on the south to the Simpson (now the Naas) and the Finlay Rivers on the north. The Queen Charlotte Islands were included, but Vancouver Island was to be excluded. The government was to consist of a governor and, "as soon as Her Majesty should deem it convenient," a legislature. The legislature was to consist of the governor and a council, or a council and an assembly. In the meantime the governor was to be empowered "to make provision for the administration of justice" and "generally to make, ordain, and establish all such laws, institutions, and ordinances as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects and others" within the colony. The proviso was added that all orders of Her Majesty's Privy Council concerning British Columbia, and also all laws and ordinances made by the colonial governor, should be laid before both houses of parliament.

Other important clauses of the Act provide for the appeals of civil suits from the courts of British Columbia to the British Privy Council, and also for the inclusion of Vancouver Island in the colony of British Columbia. The latter event, however, could only take place providing that a joint address from both houses of the legislature of Vancouver Island was presented to Her Majesty asking for the annexation of that island to British Columbia. The last clause of the Act made provision that it should remain in force until December 31, 1862, and that its expiration was not to interfere with the boundaries, right of appeals or certain other privileges laid down in the Act.

It will be seen that this Act gave very wide powers to Governor

¹⁸ *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, no. 1, p. 1.

Douglas, who was, as might have been expected, appointed governor of the new crown colony. His position on the mainland was now legalized, and he was enabled to make provision for the setting up of local magistrates and the levying of taxes and customs duties. One condition, however, had been attached by the Home government to Douglas's acceptance of his new governorship. He was to be governor of both Vancouver Island and British Columbia, provided that he completely severed all connections with the Hudson's Bay Company. In a confidential letter dated July 16, 1858,¹⁹ Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton lays down this condition, at the same time promising Douglas a six years term as governor of British Columbia and also a salary of £1,000 a year. He also promised that Douglas's interests in the matter of his salary as governor of Vancouver Island would not be overlooked. It is typical of Douglas that in his reply²⁰ he states that the £1,000 salary offered to him as governor of British Columbia "is manifestly insufficient for that purpose, in this very expensive country", and suggests the sum of £5,000 as an inclusive salary for both governments. He announced at the same time that he had severed all connections with the old company. To this Lytton replied, naming £1,800 as salary for the dual position, but allowing a further colonial grant. This grant was soon fixed at £3,000, so that Douglas obtained very nearly what he had requested.

One cannot, at this point, turn away from the legal enactments and resultant correspondence which set up the new Gold Colony, without pausing to comment on its name. As is well known, it was Queen Victoria who bestowed the title of British Columbia upon the Pacific Province, just as it was she who later named its capital New Westminster. Her Majesty's reasons, as set forth in her letter to Bulwer Lytton dated Osborne, July 24, 1858, are very interesting.²¹ Having noted that objection had been taken to the name of New Caledonia, by which title the mainland was usually designated, although New Caledonia was more properly the northern interior of British Columbia, Queen Victoria objected to the various names bestowed by Captain Vancouver and his brother navigators, New Hanover, New Cornwall, and New Georgia. She avowed that the only name given on all the maps which she had consulted was "Columbia". In order to dis-

¹⁹ *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 43.

²⁰ *B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, p. 1.

²¹ *Queen Victoria's Letters*, vol. iii, p. 296.

tinguish this new Columbia from all other Columbias, Her Majesty therefore named the infant colony "British Columbia".

It will now be well to survey the actual extent of the new colony and to enumerate the principal gold fields. The Fraser was, and remained, the main artery of the colony, and along its banks, and in its bed, were situated many of the chief diggings. From the mouth of the river to Fort Langley, a distance of twenty-five miles, no diggings at all occurred. Between Fort Langley and Fort Hope, a distance of sixty-nine miles, they were fairly numerous, the lowest which produced gold in paying quantities being "Fargo's Bar, a mile above Sumas village."²² From Fort Hope to Fort Yale, which were situated about thirteen miles apart, the bars were very frequent and also very productive. The best known of these sand-bars was Hill's Bar, "the earliest-worked, longest-worked, largest and best-paying bar on the Fraser."²³ From Fort Yale the diggings stretched north for fifty-five miles to the junction of the Fraser and the Thompson, a point then known as the Forks, but afterwards named Lytton in honour of the Colonial Secretary. North of Lytton prospectors had in the first few months gone almost as far as Fort George, but the most northerly diggings, when Waddington published his pamphlet in November 1858, were at the Fountain, six miles above the Big Falls of the Fraser and about sixty miles north of Lytton. In fact, the whole country drained by the Fraser and its tributaries, especially the Thompson, had been scoured by the prospectors. The great Cariboo gold-fields were not discovered until late in 1859 and early in 1860. But in the meantime the Fraser had been examined as far north as one hundred and fifty miles beyond Fort George, and Douglas, writing to the Duke of Newcastle in October 1859,²⁴ reported that men were making from 20 to 25 shillings a day from each bar in that vicinity. It had also been found that the Quesnel River was far richer than the main stream and that as much as £40 a day could be made in the "rich strikes". In fact, there were rumours of gold as remote as "Tête Jaune's Cache" (or the "Yellowhead" country) on the western slopes of the main chain of the Rocky Mountains. To the frenzied imagination of the moment, the bulk of the interior of British Columbia seemed one gigantic pay streak.

As might have been expected, the population was extremely

²² Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. ii, p. 39.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Douglas to Newcastle, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 3, p. 65.

unstable. Thousands had, as we have seen, rushed to the diggings in the spring and early summer of 1858, only to be disappointed. The gold was literally in the Fraser, and could not be got at until the autumn, when the river had fallen and the sand-bars were exposed. That meant several weary months of waiting, and many of the miners left the lower Fraser diggings in disgust, or pushed on further north to points where "dry diggings" were possible. The *Victoria Gazette* in its first number, dated June 25, 1858, thus recorded affairs at Fort Hope:

Matters at Fort Hope remained in the same condition as at previous advices. The majority of the miners were waiting for the river to fall. Some were working the river banks. A party of one hundred and fifty miners started out on the trail to Thompson River, with a view to locating in that vicinity. . . .

Provisions were very scarce, and prices were outrageously high on the Fraser, and this had much to do with the rapid shifting of population. Flour was worth \$60 a barrel at Fort Hope, sugar 50 cents a pound, and other articles were in proportion. Waddington, in his *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, quoted figures to show the preposterous prices charged:²⁵

Beans which are worth 1½ cents in Victoria, and would cost at most 5 cents at Port Douglas, sell for one dollar per pound at the end of the Trail. Bacon is worth two dollars a pound, or to be more exact there is none; flour seventy-five cents a pound, boots twenty to twenty-five dollars per pair, and blankets the same. Nobody can be astonished at miners leaving when they have to pay such prices, and are so uncertain of their existence into the bargain.

Of course, against these huge prices must be placed the large amounts of gold obtained. Douglas, in his despatch of June 10, 1858,²⁶ reported that at Hill's Bar four men had, with a rocker, produced in six hours a hundred dollars worth of gold, and that the average miner made anywhere from two and a half to twenty-five dollars a day. A little later in the season, after sluicing had been attempted, much larger sums were made. In his despatch of October 12, 1858, Douglas records that a "Mr. Cushing, who had five hired men employed on his sluice at wages ranging from five to eight dollars a day, received, in one week, a yield of 2,500 dollars".²⁷ It is interesting to note that inferior claims which

²⁵ Waddington, *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, p. 25.

²⁶ Douglas to Stanley, June 10, 1858, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 13.

²⁷ Douglas to Lytton, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, p. 5.

yielded only from two and a half to five dollars a day, were not considered worth working. As Douglas puts it: "That yield, however, is not considered wages by the Californian miner, nor any sum under six dollars a day". As usual, high prices and high wages went together.

In the same despatch Douglas mentions the necessity for the government building good roads to and from the diggings. This was essential if the country was to be colonized.

At first the only means of communication between the diggings and the outside world was along the Fraser. Steamers managed somehow to get as far as Fort Hope. The *Victoria Gazette* tells us that

The steamer "Sea Bird" has managed to reach Fort Hope by dint of the most severe driving. Her progress up is reported to have been of the most curious character; sometimes the current would get the better of the battle and the steamer would drift astern in spite of herself. On her return she struck on a point ten miles below Fort Hope, and some of the passengers on the "Surprise" inform us that it is a matter of doubt whether she will be got off, as the river henceforth is more likely to fall than to rise.

From Hope onward the miner took his life in his hand if he attempted the Fraser Canyon in a canoe. Fortunately it was possible to provide a substitute for this almost impassable route. This was by means of the Harrison-Lillooet trail, *via* Douglas. This trail left the Fraser at Harrison River, crossed Harrison Lake, then ran by road over the Birkenhead Portages, "and thence *via* Lake Anderson-Seton to the crossing of the Fraser at the point where the village of Lillooet was afterwards founded".²⁸ This trail cut off the worst part of the Fraser rapids, and it is interesting to note that the road from the head of Harrison Lake was largely constructed by the miners themselves, five hundred of whom volunteered for this service. So valuable was this new trail that to it Anderson claims that "the whole after progress of the Colony may be attributed".²⁹ After the construction of the road along the Fraser, the Harrison-Lillooet trail was practically abandoned but not before it had done much for the opening up of the new colony.

During 1858 the centre of mining activities was between Hope and Yale. By 1859 it had shifted north to between Lytton and

²⁸Anderson, *North-West Coast*, p. 45.

²⁹Anderson, *North-West Coast*, p. 46.

Lillooet, and by 1860 and 1861 the chief claims were being staked in the new Cariboo gold-fields. The bulk of the mining population very naturally shifted north during these years. In September, 1858, there were, according to Douglas's estimates,³⁰ 3,000 miners between Hope and Yale, of which 2,000 were at or near Yale, and there were 10,000 in the whole colony.³¹ In October, 1859, the mining population between Hope and Yale had, according to Douglas's report,³² fallen to 600 persons. Over 800 were to be found in the region between Yale and the Fountain, while about 1,000 men were working the claims between Alexandria, Quesnel and Fort George, including the Quesnel River. Later on in 1860 and 1861 occurred the great rush to the Cariboo, which proved to be the real El Dorado of British Columbia.

Such was the extent of the new colony, a long ribbon of mining camps stretching from the lower bars of the Fraser to the creeks of Cariboo. It was essential that some form of stable government be established as soon as possible. Even before the British House of Commons in August, 1858, had passed the Act creating the crown colony of British Columbia, the miners in the vicinity of Yale, mindful of the procedure in the California camps, had, in July, set themselves to law-making. A "Miners' Meeting" was held, which proceeded to legislate against the sale of liquor without a license and the sale of fire-arms to the Indians.³³ This meeting, irregular as it was, may be claimed as the first instance of representative government in the mainland of British Columbia.

But Governor Douglas was already making plans for the government of the mainland. In June, 1858, he had appointed Richard Hicks as revenue officer at Yale, George Perrier as justice of the peace at Hill's Bar, and O. Trevillot as revenue officer at

³⁰*B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, pp. 5-6, Douglas to Lytton.

³¹This was only one-third of the number present in July, 1858, the high-water mark of the gold rush. Macdonald (*British Columbia and Vancouver's Island*, p. 80), gives the following figures as estimates of the mining population in British Columbia:

White population in 1858-17,000		
"	"	" 1859- 8,000
"	"	" 1860- 7,000
"	"	" 1861- 5,000

"Of these", he adds, "about a sixth are British subjects, either from the Mother-country or the provinces".

³²*B. C. Papers*, Pt. III, p. 67, Lytton to Newcastle.

³³*Cf.* Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, II, 33, quoting the *Victoria Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1858.

Lytton.³⁴ These appointments were duly confirmed by Lytton in his despatch of August 14, 1858,³⁵ as was also that of Mr. Young as gold commissioner. The Home government was, however, by no means ready to give Douglas too free a hand in the appointment of officers for the new colony. Lytton states in the same despatch that he proposes sending out a collector of customs, and also a judge, who was afterwards to hold the office of chief justice in the colony. To preserve order among the gold-camps it was proposed to send out³⁶ "an officer of the Royal Engineers (probably a Field Officer with two or three subalterns) and a company of Sappers and miners, made up to 150 men, non-commissioned officers and men". These engineers were to play a great part in the development of the new colony.

Before the Royal Engineers arrived, as they did in October and November, 1858,³⁷ James Douglas had received his commission as governor. It was not before the time, since he had already been forced by circumstances to assume that rôle. At the end of August, 1858, he left Victoria, and he arrived at Fort Hope on September 1. There he found considerable excitement on account of Indian troubles. The miners and the Indians had clashed, and blood had been shed. Douglas at once proceeded to enforce law and order. He issued a proclamation forbidding the sale of liquor to the Indians, and proceeded to appoint officers of the peace. At Yale he reduced the price of flour from \$13.00 to \$10.50 a barrel, and other goods in proportion, and guaranteed to the miners that the price would not be over \$11.00 a barrel during the coming winter.³⁸

At the same time he appointed three commissioners to try one William King on a charge of murder. There was as yet no judge in British Columbia, and so Douglas took upon himself authority to set up a court. The prisoner was convicted for manslaughter, but afterwards escaped. Law and order were vindicated, although the legality of the court can be questioned.

At length Douglas's commission arrived, and it seemed advisable to him to pay an official visit to the new colony and to

³⁴These appointments, and especially that of Hicks, were vigorously attacked by Amor De Cosmos in the *British Colonist*. Hicks seems to have been none too honest in the discharge of his official duties.

³⁵Lytton to Douglas, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 47.

³⁶Lytton to Douglas, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 44.

³⁷Howay, *The Royal Engineers in British Columbia*, p. 2.

³⁸*B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, p. 5.

inaugurate formally the government of British Columbia. This was accordingly done. On November 16, 1858, the governor, accompanied by Rear-Admiral Baynes, David Cameron, chief justice of Vancouver Island, Matthew Bailey Begbie, the new judge of British Columbia, and Captain Parsons, with a detachment of the Royal Engineers, left Victoria. Three days later, on November 19, 1858, the inaugural ceremony took place at New Fort Langley in the rain. The governor's party landed from the historic Hudson's Bay steamship *Beaver*. A salute of eighteen guns was fired, and the Union Jack run up. The governor delivered his commission as judge to Begbie, and then read his own commission as Governor. Judge Begbie next administered the oaths of office and allegiance, and Douglas read a proclamation dated November 3,³⁹ "revoking the Hudson's Bay Company's license of exclusive trade with the Indians so far as the new colony was concerned". This was followed by three other proclamations. This first announced the Act for the government of British Columbia. The second indemnified the governor and all persons for all acts done prior to that date. The last declared that the civil and criminal laws of England, as they then existed, should be enforced in the colony.

Thus the colony of British Columbia was finally launched, and its government made legal. After some delay the site for the new capital was picked, and the name New Westminster bestowed upon it by Queen Victoria. In the foundation of the capital and in opening up the country generally, the Royal Engineers played an heroic part. The great Cariboo waggon-road was constructed and other roads were pushed into the interior. A legislative council was created, and did its part in advising the absentee governor, for Douglas still continued to reside in Victoria. Even a mint was established, although the gold struck was never put into circulation.

Douglas remained governor of British Columbia until 1864, when his term expired, and he was succeeded by Governor Seymour. It had been decided to appoint separate governors for the two colonies. Douglas's régime had extended from the foundation of the colony until a time when it was well on the way to prosperity. His firm hand had guided the helm of state through treacherous waters, and to him British Columbia owes much. Yet he was never very popular on the mainland during his ad-

³⁹Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, II, 54.

ministration. One reason was his continued residence in Victoria. The mainland colony desired a resident governor. Another reason was his rather unbending character. Bancroft records that in Victoria he was usually followed by a guard in uniform. This touch was typical of him. It was suited to an old colonial governor, but was out of place in a rising young democracy such as the Gold Colony was rapidly becoming.

WALTER N. SAGE

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

EYE-WITNESSES' ACCOUNTS OF THE BRITISH REPULSE AT TICONDEROGA

The two letters which follow are of interest in that they give an account of the British repulse at Ticonderoga in July, 1758, written immediately after the event by officers who had taken part in the battle. The letters do not throw on the engagement any new light, but they make the light a little brighter, and the views of Abercromby's ineptitude which have been adopted by most historians are confirmed. The disaster was directly due, first, to Abercromby's lack of reconnaissance, and secondly, to his failure to use his artillery, which could have enfiladed the French stockade from its position on Mount Defiance, and rendered it untenable. In fact, if Montcalm had intelligence of the possession of artillery by the British, his taking up the position he did was an error which would have cost him dear had he been opposed by a better general than Abercromby.

The letters are preserved in the MSS. Department of the British Museum (Add. MSS., 21,643), and form part of the Haldimand Bequest (1857). The first letter is addressed to "Francis Halket, Esq., Brigade Major at Carlisle", and is endorsed in another hand, "Letter to Major Halkett concerning the repulse at Ticonderoga". The second letter is addressed in the same way, with the addition of the word "Express".

The sender of the letters, Alexander Colden, was probably the son of Cadwallader Colden, lieutenant-governor of New York, 1761-1776, and brother of the David Colden who is found writing to General Haldimand on August 10, 1783, introducing and recommending his nephew, Stephen De Lancey, on the ground of his father's friendship with the general.

C. E. LART

[Transcripts]

(1)

From New York

July 17, 1785.

To Major Halket, Brigade Major, Carlisle.

Dear Sir,

No doubt by the time this can reach you, you'll have heard of the repulse of our Army at the French entrenchments before Tieconderoga. I have not time to collect all the Particulars, but send you a Copy of two letters which are as particular as any I have seen: they were wrote to Dr Middleton who desires his compts to you, and has given me leave to copy them for your perusal.

"Lake George. 10 July, 1758.

"The 5th inst. the whole army embarked on board Battoes, and the 6th in the morning landed without oppn. at the French advanced guard. The same day in the afternoon as our army was advancing to Tieconderoga our advanced guard was attacked by 350 of the enemy, few of whom escaped to carry intelligence back. 140 of the party was killed on the spot, and 152 was taken prisoners: our loss in this attack did not exceed 30. Unfortunately the brave Lord Howe was killed in the beginning of this brush. Our army got dispersed in the woods in the pursuit, therefore it was thought proper to return to the place where we first landed. There we was all right. Next morning the 7th at Day Light the whole army marched, and in the afternoon took possession without opposition of the French 2nd advanced guard at Mills [sawmills on the river]. The morning of the fatal 8th, Broad Street with an engineer was sent to reconnoitre the French Lines: they soon returned with the following account—That the enemy was encamped on rising ground about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the Fort, but not fortified, only a few Logs laid one on another as a breast Work.

"Upon this Intelligence it was thought proper to attempt storming the enemy lines, without loss of time, and immediately the whole army marched and began the attack about 9 o'clock a.m. I have not time to give you the order of battle: let it suffice that our army was repulsed thrice and as often returned to the charge in the space of 4 hours. They were obliged to retreat at the last with the loss of 2000 of our best men and officers. This is only my own opinion, no return being made as yet. Our Intelligence was bad, for the French had a regular entrenchment faced with logs; their trench 20 ft. broad, and parapet in proportion. No Regiment has suffered so much as the Highlanders, part of which got upon the top of the French Lines every time an attack was made,

and drove the French from where they entered, but not being properly supported they were as often cut off as they entered. As a return is not made I am not able to give you a list of the officers killed and wounded, only that every officer of distinction, except the two generals Abercrombie and Gage are either killed or wounded.

"Those whom I know to be wounded are Coll. Grant, Major Campble, Capt. Murray, Cpt. Graham, every field officer in Lord Howe's Regt. killed: there are many more, but I have not time to enquire—in short every regular regt. in the field has suffered so much that I don't think anything more can be done this Way this campaign altho I am pretty certain Tieconderoga will be tried once more."

I can't copy the other letter but shall send it next Post; the express is ready to set out, and I am loth to loose the opty of sending this by him.

I am, Dr Sr, most obeyd
and very obliged humble servt
ALEX. COLDEN

(2)

New York. July 17, 1758.

Dr Sir,

I just now finished copying one letter which [I] have sent by the Express, as the Tide will not admit of his crossing the Ferry. I shall endeavour to send you a copy of the other letter by this Express mentioned in my former.

"I just arrived at the army time enough to have a share in the misfortune of the 9th. Oh! what a glorious prospect on the morning of that Day, after we had beat all their out Posts, and taken so many prisoners. We had nothing in view but Glory and Victory with[in] sight of the French Fort, and yet by experience I to my grief find how little dependence one must make: all worldly expectations in short is all a chimera: by attacking a French intrenchment without Cannon, we lost all our fine views: however I hope we will soon have at them again. Never was there in the World troops behaved with greater coolness and resolution than ours in spite of all their disadvantages, nor never was there in the World such a piece of ground to fight on. It was so very bad that after we were within gun shot the enemy might easily fire 10 Rounds before we got up the length of their Intrenchments and that in the face of such a fire of small arms, Wall pieces, and musquets as I never saw before (and I think I have seen the smartest that happened

all last war) but alas after we came to the trenches we found them above 6 ft. high without a possey of getting in, and so had the same fire to stand in coming back—

This work might have lasted about 4 hours during which time the six Regular Regiments lost 1526 men besides 97 of our best officers killed and wounded. I am far from being surprised that we lost so few [many?] for such a damnable fire no man in this army ever saw before: the provincials lost very few. Except the York Regiment who lost some; true indeed the Provincials never were engaged. They came up to sustain us, but they began to fire at such a distance they killed several of our men, and yet upon the whole they behaved extremely well. Our Principal Officers lost are Ld Howe, Coll. Beaver; Coll. Donaldson; Major Rutherford; Major Proby. Well, we are beat, but I hope will soon have at them again. Lord Howes death was a bad affair, but he exposed himself too much. We'll wait here at the Lake till there are some officers made, the Distruction of them is so great that we have not officers to do Duty in the Line. And then have at the Dogs again. The Engineer Clark is in a dying condition. The first Brigade is most terribly shattered as you may see from Lord John Murray's Highlanders, who were the first Regiment of that Brigade.

"The Indians we had with us who viewed the affair at a distance, allowed us much more bravery than the French, but say we are not half so cunning. We breath nothing but revenge. A flag of Truce going tomorrow to Tieconderoga.

"Lake George. 12th July."

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, etc.

ALEX. COLDEN.

THE PETITION OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC TO QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1857

THE curious document now printed here may be unique as well as hitherto unpublished. The existence of the present copy was not known to any of the principal authorities concerned—Mr. H. J. J. B. Chouinard, the city clerk of Quebec; Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, the new provincial archivist; and Dr. A. G. Doughty, the

Dominion archivist. Of course, the copy sent to Queen Victoria may be among the imperial archives. But, if so, its position seems to be unknown. The present copy was, apparently, the only one kept in Quebec, where it was found among the effects of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Frost Wood Gray, whose step-father, Dr. Joseph Morrin, was mayor at the time it was drawn up. It bears Morrin's own signature as well as that of François-Xavier Garneau, who was then city clerk. Whether Garneau was or was not responsible for the wording is more than we can say. Perhaps this was composed by Morrin, who founded Morrin College, where the library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec has so long been housed.

It is written in a beautiful "Italian" hand, on light blue, unruled, folio paper, 13 inches by 8. It occupies 12 pages or 3 sheets; and is tied with half-inch, dark blue, silk ribbon. The paper bears, of course, the city's seal. It is in fairly good order; and has now been filed among the provincial archives in the parliament buildings at Quebec.

Certain extracts recently appeared in a press article on the new Provincial Archives. But, so far as can be discovered, the whole wording has never been printed *verbatim* till to-day.

It speaks for itself, and most emphatically too, the trumpet giving no uncertain sound. From Jacques Cartier to Wellington all the best witnesses are called to give their evidence in favour of Quebec as a strategic centre of Canadian and imperial power. The incontestable advantage of having a seaport for the new Canadian capital is duly pointed out. But the rival port of Montreal is given several sharp backhanders to put it in its proper place. The idea of an American army walking into Montreal by way of the (then future) Victoria bridge is a quaint exaggeration. But the strategic danger of southern Ontario is not inaptly described; though, happily enough, the flanks are threatened now by friends, not foes. The "illimitable" West is effectively brought in with a quite prophetic touch. But Quebec's old rival, Montreal, has tapped the "products" here so hopefully foretold.

On the whole, in spite of its shortcomings, and of its perhaps excessive zeal, this "Memorial" is not unworthy of being classed among those documents which throw a most illuminating sidelight on a vexed question of prime importance to the state.

WILLIAM WOOD

[*Transcript*]

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST
EXCELLENT MAJESTY

YOUR MAJESTY having graciously been pleased to accede to the request of Your Majesty's loyal people of Canada, praying that Your Majesty would select from among the Cities of this Province the place for the future seat of Government and Capital of this flourishing and important part of Your Majesty's dominions, the Mayor, Councillors and Citizens of the City of Quebec, beg leave to approach Your Majesty with the fullest reliance upon Your Majesty's wisdom and regard for the interest of this Province and to lay before Your Majesty a statement of the grounds on which they found the hope that the ancient City of Quebec may be honoured by Your Majesty's selection, as the future Capital of Canada.

THE CHOICE of the Capital of a Country is a subject of the very highest importance, involving in almost all cases the destiny and greatness of a people. Accident has in some instances determined the selection, but generally a City has owed this distinction to the advantages of its situation for the purposes of Commerce and navigation and, above all, for the defence of the Country and the facility of communication and supervision over all parts of the Subject territory.

THE NATURAL features of a country generally point out of themselves the place possessing these advantages of position. So true is this, that almost all the first towns founded by Europeans in both North and South America, have ultimately become the Capitals of their respective provinces.

THE FIRST Europeans who ever visited Canada, located themselves at Quebec. Although at a distance of 360 miles from the gulf of St. Lawrence and of more than 800 from the Atlantic, no other point, between Quebec and the sea, offered to the first Colonists of Canada, such a striking position as to induce them to form a permanent establishment. The wisdom of their choice has never since been questioned. A Governor of Canada, the Count de Frontenac, wrote to the Minister at the Court of France in 1672, "Nothing struck me as so beautiful and grand as the location of the town of Quebec, which could not be better situated even were it to become, in some future time, the Capital of a great Empire."

It is a frequent practice at the present, for some persons to speak of Quebec, as though it was situated at one extremity of the Province and on the margin of the sea, but this, as we have just seen, is an altogether

erroneous impression. The situation of Quebec is far in the interior of the Country and if renowned as a sea port, it is that the town is situated on one of the greatest rivers in the world, a river whose waters bring to her door the largest vessels of the Ocean.

IT WAS this interior and commanding situation and this vast and capacious port, which drew from the Count de Frontenac an expression of his opinion that Quebec was formed by nature to be the Capital of a vast Empire.

INDEED, there is a striking resemblance in point of situation between the Cities of Quebec and London, the respective geographical limits of Canada and Great Britain being considered. The situation of London as a Capital, has never been condemned. On the contrary it is believed that the commercial and maritime greatness of England, arising out of her insular position, is due in a great measure to the situation of the Capital on a sea port, and where the Government and the Legislature had offered to their constant observation the importance of commerce and navigation, as the source of wealth and power.

PETER THE GREAT, when in England in 1698, impressed by these considerations, decided upon the abandonment of Moscow as the Capital of his Empire, and the founding of St. Petersbourg on the shores of the Baltic where the seat of Empire has ever since remained. Yet St. Petersbourg is 13 degrees further North than Quebec.

WHILE IN point of maritime situation the City of Quebec is incontestably the first City of Canada, it is placed in the centre of a vast and fertile district, whose mineral and agricultural wealth and facilities for the establishment of manufactures, yet in their infancy, promise at no distant period, to place the City in the very first rank as to population and resources, an increase which would be much accelerated by the impulse which would be given by the possession of the seat of Government.

IN DETERMINING the question of the policy of government as respects the future development of British America must also be kept in view. The ever increasing power of the United States necessarily points to the federal union of the British Provinces under the protection of England, as a measure which will ultimately become necessary. England herself is interested even in view of her European policy, that a power should exist on this continent, to counterbalance that of the Great American Republic, in imitation of the European system. With this prospect in view, the choice of a capital for Canada could not possibly be uninfluenced by so important a consideration, and in the event of such a union, Quebec would be not only the most accessible from the sea, but the most central city of British America.

THE DUKE of Wellington himself observed that the whole of the British North American Colonial System depended upon the possession of Quebec, and indeed, Quebec is the strong hold of Canada, and history has proved, over and over again, under the French as under the English rule, that the possession of Quebec is always followed by that of the territory composing the British Provinces. Chosen in 1535 by Cartier, in 1608 by Champlain, the Promotory of Cape Diamond has ever been regarded as the key of the country, and on all occasions the fate of the Province has been decided under the walls of Quebec.

OF ALL the towns of Canada also, Quebec is the least exposed to attack from the Americans and the easiest of access to succour from England. It is remote from the frontier of the United States and protected by the river St. Lawrence on whose left bank it is built. It is well known that Canada is bounded throughout its entire length on the South, by the United States, who have the superiority on Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, and that the most flourishing part of Upper Canada lies in an angle between those Lakes exposed to attack from all of them. The numerical Superiority of the United States over Canada would permit any skilful commander to cut off the communication with the interior at any point between Montreal in the East and Lake Superior in the West. In the last war the Americans burnt Toronto and marched as far East as the Cedars, within thirty miles of Montreal. Toronto and Kingston are immediately contiguous to the United States, exposed to the cannon of their ships, while they are also liable from that contiguity and close intercommunication with the Republic to imbibe political opinions adverse to the integrity of the Empire.

BUT IT IS not merely as a fortified city that Quebec has exercised such an important influence on the fortunes of Canada, its adaptation to the peaceful purposes of commerce also render it a place of the first rank and importance. At Quebec, the navigation of the largest class of vessels terminates, and at Quebec the inland navigation commences. The port is accessible to ships from sea, long before any other place, as was strikingly exemplified this year by the arrival of the "City of Toronto" from Glasgow at Quebec, on the 20th of April, when the St. Lawrence above Quebec, was frozen over as far as Montreal, and inaccessible to navigation. Whatever may be the present course of trade, the time is fast approaching, when the products of the Great West, illimitable in amount, will come to Quebec by river, Canal and railroad as to a common centre of export to Europe.

AMONG THE Cities of Canada, Montreal might have some claim to enter the list with Quebec, but since railroads have shortened the distance between these two Cities to a few hours, the advantages which its more

western situation might impart to Montreal are more than counter-balanced by its want of defences in case of war, and its exposure to an American army, which could penetrate without obstruction into its streets, and all the more easily when the Victoria Bridge is finished.

THE TOWNS OF Montreal and Kingston have successively been selected as the seat of Government, but have successively been abandoned, after the experience of a few years, while in the Session of the Parliament of Canada, held at Toronto in 1856, the Governor General, the Ministers of the Crown, and a majority of the Representatives of the people, by a solemn vote, decided in favour of the City of Quebec, and appropriated the monies necessary for the erection of a house of Parliament, and it was only the defeat of this measure by the Legislative Council, by a questionable exercise of power, which rendered it necessary to adopt other means for the solution of this important question.

YOUR MAJESTY, in your choice, governed by a regard for the general interests of Canada and of the British Empire will feel the importance of these influences which tend permanently to connect Canada with England as an integral portion of the Empire, and in this view, the City of Quebec may point to the tried fidelity of Her Citizens, who when the English rule was menaced in America in 1775, in 1812, in 1837, rallied in defence of the Government, their peaceful and hospitable character, the harmony in which the two races destined to occupy the banks of the St. Lawrence, here live together, and the familiar use of both languages prevalent in Canada. Besides these considerations, Quebec may boast of the salubrity of its climate, the beauty and grandeur of its site, the extent and safety of its harbour, its fortifications, its impregnable Citadel, its historical associations, all of them incidents which impart dignity to power. For 230 years Quebec was the Capital of Canada, during this long period fifty three Governors here successively took up their residence; none of these ever expressed a wish to transfer the seat of Government from its original position.

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY'S
LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SUBJECTS,

JOS. MORRIN,
Mayor of Quebec.

F. X. GARNEAU,
City Clerk.

Quebec, 25th May 1857.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Norse Discoverers of America: The Wineland Sagas translated and discussed. By G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 304.

OF the making of books about the Norse voyages to America there would appear to be no end. Even within the last ten years a whole literature has appeared about the subject, beginning with Nansen's *In Northern Mists* (1911), and including such important studies as Babcock's *Early Norse Discoveries in America* (1913), Hovgaard's *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America* (1915), and Steensby's *The Norsemen's Route from Greenland to Wineland* (1918), not to mention lesser studies by Finnur Jonsson, Neckel, Kolischer, Bruun and Fullum. By these writers the most diverse views have been advanced. Dr. Nansen contended that the mythical element in the sagas was so great that they could be relied on only as proof of the bare fact of the Norse visits to America; whereas most of the subsequent writers have placed so great a reliance on the details of the sagas that they have endeavoured by means of them, to determine the exact course of the Norse voyages, and the exact location of the places at which the Norsemen landed, and in nearly every case the conclusion arrived at has been different. There has been profound disagreement even as to the comparative value of the source-material of the sagas: some writers have considered the Saga of Eric the Red as having the greater authority, others have championed the claims of the Flatey Book. Far from solving the problem of the Norse voyages to America, it might almost be said that each fresh commentator has provided new material for controversy. And now comes Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's *The Norse Discoverers of America*, in which views are presented which are different, in part, from any that have been advanced hitherto, and which deals with the whole subject *de novo*.

The subject is not one for the layman. It demands a combination of qualities, a variety of expert knowledge, which few people possess—a familiarity, for instance, with Icelandic language and literature, with the history of mediaeval navigation, with North American geography and ethnology, even with North American botany. At one point

astronomical calculations of a very complicated nature become necessary. For dealing with all these branches of the subject, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy appears to be equipped at least with a sufficient knowledge. He apologizes, it is true, for his interpretation of a runic inscription on the ground that "it is perhaps rash for an amateur to criticize the interpretation of an expert" (p. 285, *n.*); but it is clear that his apology is hardly necessary. His study of the subject had already extended over a number of years when the war interrupted it, and since that time he has been able to familiarize himself with the considerable literature of the subject which appeared during the course of the war, though it must be confessed that this literature has not greatly altered his conclusions. Among English-speaking writers there would appear to have been few who have approached this difficult and tantalizing question better equipped than Mr. Gathorne-Hardy.

His method of handling the subject has the merit of originality. In the first part of the book he has presented, in translation, a consecutive narrative—frequently of a composite character—drawn from the three versions of the story contained in the Flatey Book, the Saga of Eric the Red, and the Hauk's Book. Then he has discussed the nature of the evidence and the historicity of the story in its main features. Finally, he has attacked in detail the problems to which the narrative of the sagas gives rise.

The conclusion to which he comes is that the sagas are, apart from some interpolations and corruptions, on the whole trustworthy historical narratives, and that it is possible to reconstruct the Norse voyages to America in their general features. He believes—and his argument has often a most plausible ring—that Helluland was Newfoundland, that Markland was Nova Scotia, and that Vinland was situated about Long Island Sound. He identifies Keelness as Cape Cod, and Straumsfjord as Long Island Sound. The arguments by means of which he reaches this result cannot be outlined here; but some of them have decided merit. In particular, his suggestion that the Flatey Book, of the authority of which he thinks highly, represents the Greenland tradition, while the Saga of Eric the Red represents the Iceland tradition, has much to commend it; and his interpretation of the meaning of the expressions, "Daegr sigling" (day's sailing) and "Eyktarstad" (latitude), employed in the saga, seems to the present reviewer extremely probable. Once, indeed, the vexed question of the meaning of these terms is settled—provided always that the details of the sagas can be relied upon—the rest of Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's conclusions follow naturally from the premises laid down.

Apart from some passages in the Icelandic Annals, an Icelandic

geography preserved in manuscripts of the fourteenth century, and two Norse maps of the years 1570 and 1605, in which Mr. Gathorne-Hardy finds evidence of a pre-Columbian source, his argument is based mainly on the sagas. He makes no reference to any archaeological evidences found in America. Yet these exist, though not along the Atlantic seaboard. There seems to be no doubt that the Runic inscription found on the island of Kingitorsook in Baffin's Bay is genuine; and there are those who believe that the rune-stone found at Kensington, Minnesota, is no forgery. Archaeological evidence of this sort merely goes to show that the Norse discoverers of America went much farther afield than most people have imagined, and serves to reinforce the theory that they might well have reached Cape Cod.

While it cannot be said that the solution of the problem has reached as yet anything like finality, the opinion may perhaps be hazarded that Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's book represents at least a step in advance.

W. S. WALLACE

The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783. By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON and THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1921. Pp. xvi, 609.

THIS book, which "represents an attempt to bring into one account the story of European expansion in North America down to 1783", is intended as a text-book for the use of university undergraduates. It has black-headed subject-headings at the beginning of each paragraph, and at the end of each chapter there is a list of "readings". The book, however, will be found of distinct interest to other than university undergraduates. The authors, who are professors of history in universities on the Pacific coast, have realized that the colonization of the New World has been treated far too often as if it were "the history, almost solely, of the thirteen English colonies which formed the nucleus of the United States"; and they have tried to correct this tendency by giving proper emphasis to the foundation "of the colonies of other nations than England and of the English colonies other than the thirteen which revolted". The student of Canadian history, therefore, will find here the story of the colonization of Canada set in its proper background, and will be surprised to discover into what new relief that background throws the story.

It is perhaps natural that in the chapters dealing with Canada, a country the history of which is not apparently the special field of the authors, there should be some inaccuracies. The Marquis de la Roche brought out in 1598 to Sable Island not "two shiploads of colonists" (p. 85), but only one shipload. To say that in 1603 Champlain had

already gained fame with his writings (p. 85) is to betray a familiarity with those writings which is lacking at any rate on the bibliographical side. Dollard des Ormeaux was not "a nobleman" (p. 91), and it was not Talon who established feudalism in New France (p. 92). Several names are mis-spelled: "Rezilly" for Razilly (p. 86); "Bréboeuf" for Brébeuf (p. 88); "Carigan" for Carignan (p. 92). It will be observed that these errors are selected from half-a-dozen pages; they are merely illustrative of errors that might be cited in other pages. One is surprised to note, also, the absence in the "readings" of any mention of M. Émile Salone's important treatise on *La colonisation de la Nouvelle France*, which is much more important than most of the other titles mentioned.

But the value of the book for Canadian readers lies not so much in the chapters on Canada itself as in those dealing with the phases of the colonization of North America on which the colonization of Canada touched. Here the book will be found both useful and suggestive.

Trailmakers of the Northwest. By PAUL LELAND HAWORTH. New York:

Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1921. Pp. viii, 277. (\$2.50.)

MR. HAWORTH has made several expeditions to little-known parts of northwestern Canada, an account of one of which was given in his *On the Headwaters of Peace River*. The present book purports to be an account of the history of exploration in the whole vast region of the Northwest. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and criticism is more or less disarmed by the author's statement that it is "a book for boys—young and old". As a matter of fact, apart from Mr. Haworth's account of his own expedition in 1916 to the hitherto unexplored area lying between the headwaters of the Peace and Laird Rivers, there is practically nothing in this book that was not already conveniently accessible in printed form. On his own expedition, which is described in the chapter on "Later Explorers", the author reached and photographed Mount Lloyd George, mapped Warneford River and much of the East Fork of the Quadacha, discovered two new lakes and definitely located a third known only by Indian report, and found one of the finest waterfalls in the world. The story of the expedition is well told, and constitutes a contribution of some importance to the exploration of northern British Columbia.

For the rest, Mr. Haworth devotes his opening chapter to the beaver and its importance in the western fur-trade and exploration. Succeeding chapters deal with the achievements of Henry Hudson, Samuel Hearne, Radisson, La Vérendrye, Mackenzie, Alexander Henry, Sir John Franklin, David Thompson, Simon Fraser, Roald Amundsen, and other path-

finders of the great west and the far north. Separate chapters are devoted to the methods of travel in the fur land, sidelights on Indian life, methods of hunting the buffalo, the coming of the settlers, and the life of the trappers and prospectors of to-day. No new light is thrown upon the lives of any of the western explorers, Mr. Haworth having apparently confined his reading to secondary sources, except in so far as the original narratives were available in print. Occasionally he shows a certain lack of familiarity with the results of historical research, but it is only fair to say that on the whole his book is both readable and accurate. On such points as the methods of travel in the wilderness, the problem of food supply, the trials and compensations of an explorer's life, the habits of the beaver, and many others, the author draws instructively on his own experience.

A short "list of books for further reading" is added, made up for the most part of books of travel and exploration. To criticize a bibliography on the score of incompleteness, and particularly a list of this kind, is always more or less a work of supererogation. Even a short list, however, might be expected to include Back's *Arctic Land Expedition*, Richardson's *Arctic Searching Expedition* and Dease and Simpson's *Narrative*, for the far north; Coues's *Henry-Thompson Journals*, Tyrrell's *David Thompson*, Harmon's *Journal*, Bain's *Alexander Henry*, and Masson's *Bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, for the fur-trade explorers; Outram's *Heart of the Canadian Rockies* and Palmer's *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Selkirks*, for the mountains; and at least something on the beaver, such as Martin's *Castorologia*, Morgan's *American Beaver*, or Seton's *Life Histories of Northern Animals*.

Despite these criticisms, one would like to repeat that Mr. Haworth's book, for the purpose it is intended to serve, is on the whole an excellent piece of work.

L. J. BURPEE

John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, 1767-1775. By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1921. Pp. 208. (\$5.00.)

JOHN WENTWORTH, the last royal governor of New Hampshire, retired to Boston in the autumn of 1775, and early in 1776 to Halifax. From 1783 to 1792 he was surveyor-general of the King's woods in North America, and from 1792 to 1808 lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia under the nominal control of the governor-general at Quebec. He died, in Halifax, in 1820. Mr. Mayo's book deals adequately with his later activities, though stressing rather the more stirring and troublous period prior to the American Revolution. It is delightfully printed and bound, and delightfully written.

John Wentworth's character is easy to read. He was an honourable and upright gentleman, fond of horses and outdoor life, an energetic and efficient governor, more attentive to practical improvements than to theory. Alike in New Hampshire and in Nova Scotia he improved the roads, assisted the settlers, and advanced education. He was loyal to his Church and to his King, in his family life a pattern, generous to his dependents, open-handed and courteous to his friends. In New Hampshire he was one of the founders of Dartmouth College, and in Nova Scotia of King's College, at Windsor. His loyalty to his Church led him to foist on King's College a narrower charter than was the wish of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his loyalty to his King led him to fill his Councils with his own relatives, of whose allegiance he could feel sure. In short, he was one of the most upright and high-minded founders of the Family Compact in Nova Scotia. As such he stands out both in his portraits and in Mr. Mayo's pages.

The sketch of him given by Mr. E. I. Carlyle in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that in New Hampshire he "abolished the paper currency, a relic of the French war"; and that in Nova Scotia "toward the end of his government he was involved in several differences with the Assembly". The former action of the governor I have not verified; but the latter statement is certainly correct, and is found in every history of Nova Scotia. It is a pity that neither fact is mentioned in Mr. Mayo's charming book.

W. L. GRANT

The Parish Register of Kingston, Upper Canada, 1785-1811. Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by A. H. YOUNG. For the Kingston Historical Society. Kingston, Ontario: The British Whig Publishing Co. 1921. Pp. 207.

The Revd. John Stuart, D.D., U.E.L., of Kingston, U.C., and his Family: A Genealogical Study. By A. H. YOUNG. Kingston: Whig Press. [1921.] Pp. 64.

THE first of these volumes, the parish register of Kingston, contains in the usual form, a record of baptisms, marriages, and funerals at St. George's Church during the incumbency of the Rev. John Stuart, D.D., as rector. While not entirely complete, the official and historical value of the record is considerable, and in Professor Young's capable and tireless hands the formal lists of names yield material of varied and, often, of unexpected interest.

By repute descended from a branch of the Scottish royal family, Dr. Stuart's father, a staunch Cameronian Presbyterian, left Tyrone—Tir-Eoghain—in Ireland, with other Ulster Scots, in search of religious

freedom, and settled in Pennsylvania, where in 1740 John Stuart was born. He graduated at the College of Philadelphia, and in 1770 was ordained a priest of the Church of England by the Bishop of London; on the recommendation of the clergy of the province of Pennsylvania, and becoming a missionary to the Mohawks won the friendship of Sir William Johnson and of his son, Sir John, whose patronage proved beneficial later on. After serious harassment from the revolutionists, Stuart crossed to Canada in 1781, and after labouring for a time at St. John's and Montreal, settled in 1785 at Kingston. His pastoral duties extended from the eastern boundary of the province to Niagara Falls, and beyond, and names of persons resident on that long stretch of water front are recorded in the register, some of them those of men prominent in the affairs of the province. This fact gives exceptional interest to the book. For instance, the beginnings of the "Family Compact"—the true character of which, by the way, has scarcely been done justice to by historians—are traceable in the relationships recorded, as are those of the Jones, Gamble, Geddes, Smith, and Allan families. It is also shown that, contrary to general opinion, the loyalists were not predominantly Episcopalian, that among them were many members of the other churches, and that the members of the Church of England favoured the establishment within the province of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The exhaustive and invaluable notes throw light on the unstinted provision made by the British government to the American loyalists who settled in Upper Canada. Many of them had lost property, the fortunes of war having gone against them, but the compensation for their losses was on a scale of unprecedented generosity. The American loyalists suffered hardships, as loyalists mostly always and everywhere do, in a lost cause, but generally speaking the conscientious or convenient duty of the hour has not been thus often perpetuated by perennial eulogy. There were mixed motives on both sides, and it served both parties in the issue very well to have an open sanctuary beyond the boundary line, yet an apt question might be: what would have been the American loyalists' fate had Canada fallen to the United States?

It is made clear that the operations of the Church of England in Canada were hampered by the terms of the imperial statute of 1786 restricting the introduction of clergymen from the United States, and by the unfriendly attitude of Bishop Mountain with respect to the appointment of travelling missionaries. Lieutenant-governor Simcoe's friendship for, and basic faith in, the Church of England are apparent, and by the Upper Canada statute of 1793, sponsored by him, this church,

through the election of wardens, was closely linked with the municipal system of the province.

Not the least valuable section of the book is that devoted to the biographies of more than fifty benefactors to the church building fund, including such outstanding pioneers as Cartwright, McLean, Macaulay, Richardson, Grass, Forsyth, Markland, Simons, Beasley, and Robinson. The 1815 plan of Kingston by Thomas Ridout is reproduced to show how these and others took up town lots in the "Limestone City" in the early days.

It was no easy task to collect the money required for building the church, and what seemed even then as now, in the case of voluntary shortage, the proper thing to do was to apply to the government for help. The form suggested was a grant of the King's mills in lieu of cash. The request was not granted, but by and by the imperial government assisted by a subsidy for church building in the province, and by 1811 all debts on the Kingston church were paid off, and a small organ was ordered from England. The poor were constantly remembered, but curiously the records do not seem to note the progress of religious life in the young and growing country.

Professor Young states that the editing of the *Register* was undertaken, as a by-product, so to speak, of an extended biography of Bishop Strachan on which he is engaged. Similarly, if the Brehon aphorism, "To the cow belongs her calf," may be applied to the *Stuart Genealogy*, as was done by King Diarmid in the case of *Columbia v. Finnan*, then the *Genealogy* may be set down as the true offspring of the *Kingston Register*. Needless to say, the work is well done. The family ramifications are followed with marvellous persistence and success. The Stuart connection with the royal Stuarts is traced by tradition to the Duke of Monmouth with a Buccleuch affiliation. From Dr. John Stuart were descended among others of prominence, the Venerable Dr. Okill Stuart, Sir James Stuart, Bart., the Hon. Andrew Stuart, Sir Andrew Stuart, Sir Arthur Campbell Stuart (Managing Director of the *Times*), and among the descendants collateral are such well-known names as those of the Jones family of Brockville, Sir Allan MacNab, Bart., General Sir William Francis Butler, Viscount Bury (Earl of Albemarle), the Hon. Sir Derek William George Keppel, C.M.G., Sir Walter Beaupré Townley, Sir Dominick Daly, Senator Beaubien, Aubert de Gaspé, Louis Arthur Audette, etc. The connection between Dr. Strachan and Dr. Stuart is interesting. Both set out as Presbyterians and became Anglicans of note; while a large proportion of their numerous descendants are members of the Roman Catholic church, mainly from the commingling of the Scots with the French-Canadians of Quebec. The

Genealogical Study emphasizes the fact that the basis of the Canadian population is largely a continuation of the best stock of the Mother Land.

To Professor Young this work has been a labour of love, and the debt we owe to him is indeed great.

ALEXANDER FRASER

Oregon—Its Meaning, Origin, and Application. By JOHN E. REES (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 317-331).

The Early Explorations and the Origin of the Name of the Oregon Country. By WILLIAM H. GALVANI (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 332-340).

The Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon. By T. C. ELLIOTT (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 341-368).

The Origin of the Name Oregon. By T. C. ELLIOTT (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxii, pp. 91-115).

IN the history of the Pacific Northwest no subject has been, at once, so alluring and so baffling as the origin and meaning of the name Oregon. It is agreed that Jonathan Carver was the first to record the word in its present form; but here all agreement ceases. As British Columbia was included within the boundaries of Oregon Territory the discussion of the matter has been of interest to Canadians. In Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, volume I, pp. 17-25, Mrs. Francis Fuller Victor entered at some length into the consideration of the source and signification of the word. It was the first attempt to collect and collate the references to the question; and so divergent were the views that in despair she wrote: "How Carver obtained it—whether with him it was pure fiction, vagary, caprice, or the embodiment of a fancied sound—we shall never know." The matter could not be disposed of in that way; it cropped up again and again demanding solution; the pages of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contain numerous contributions, whose only merit was to increase the existing confusion. In truth the pedigree of a name is as interesting and as much a field for romance as the pedigree of a person. Many of the suggested solutions had more of ingenuity than of sound scholarship to recommend them.

Mr. Rees traces the word Oregon to two Shoshone words, "Ogwa", meaning water, or river, and "pe-on", west, or river of the west. Such an answer to the question can not fail to "make the judicious grieve"; it is too palpably interpreting an eighteenth-century name in the light of nineteenth-century geography. Mr. Galvani is just as sure that it is an adaptation of the word "Aragon", which the Indians *must* have

heard from the Spanish colonists who *must* have used it and who *must* have been located on or near the sources of the Columbia. With false historic premises any conclusion may be reached.

Mr. Elliott, in his first article, after indicating the unsatisfactory nature of the suggested origins, contents himself with a discussion of Carver's movements in the west and his association with Major Rogers. He holds that Carver either invented the word or obtained it from Rogers; the former being beyond his "literary or mental ability", the conclusion is reached that he pilfered it and changed it from "Ouragon" to its present form. It is maintained that the word "Ouragon", as used by Major Rogers, was merely the French word "Ouragan", a windstorm, a hurricane, or a tornado.

In his subsequent article Mr. Elliott points out that Major Rogers, in August, 1765, made a proposal to the King's Privy Council in reference to western exploration, which contained the following statement: "The Route Major Rogers proposes to take is from the Great Lakes towards the Head of the Mississippi, and from thence to the River called by the Indians Ouragon, which flows into a Bay that projects North-Eastwardly into the [Country?] from the Pacific Ocean . . ." The second petition, dated February, 1772, dealt somewhat more in detail with the intended western route. The major now proposed to travel up the Mississippi River to the Minnesota River, ascend that river to its source, portage across to a branch of the Missouri, which he would follow to its headwaters, and then "To cross thence a Portage of about thirty Miles, into the great River Ourigan; to follow this great River, through a vast, and most populous Tract of Indian Country to the Straits of Anian. . . ." Mr. Elliott marshals the facts which his researches have brought to light and certainly makes a strong case for his position that "Oregon" is Carver's adaptation of Rogers' "Ouragon" or "Ourigan". Although the subject has been discussed for thirty years this is the first real research that has been undertaken. Mr. Elliott's theory is based on facts, and has probability to support it; two foundations altogether lacking in every other suggested origin.

F. W. HOWAY

Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823. By S. E. MORISON (Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1920; reproduced in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xxi, pp. 166-201).

THE connection between Boston and the northwest coast of America began with the voyages of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, 1787-90. Though other seaports in New England strove to obtain a foothold

Boston always retained its position as the real centre of the trade—a trade which, untrammelled by the monopolies that hampered British effort, soon grew to large proportions. It spread from sea-otter skins to seal skins and furs of all descriptions, thence to pearls, sandal wood, and bêche-de-mer, and in its last phases even included whaling. With these extensions the Sandwich Islands, as the Hawaiian Islands were then called, rose in importance from a mere place of refreshment to a source of supply of sandal wood and other articles eagerly sought by the Chinese.

The romantic story of this trade—its rise, growth, and decay—is closely connected with Pacific Coast history. That story has yet to be written. It is to be pieced together from old journals and diaries, from business and familiar letters, from scattered references in the printed accounts of contemporary voyages, and from the files of the newspapers and magazines. It has been toyed with from the Boston side, from the Hawaiian side, and from the Northwest Coast side. These sectional views yet remain to be implemented, co-ordinated, and articulated.

Mr. Morison's article traces in outline its gradual development and the corresponding rise in the importance of the Hawaiian Islands, and introduces the names of persons and vessels familiar to all readers of the history of the Pacific Coast. The inherent weakness of this trade, which was a mere accumulation of individual undertakings without any unification or amalgamation of interests, but on the contrary permeated with a spirit of trade jealousy, is indicated in the article and in the accompanying letters, but the point, which is one of the great things to be kept in mind in studying the maritime trade, is not laboured.

The letters reproduced by Mr. Morison are very interesting. Though they do not in fact touch the British Columbia coast, they are nevertheless invaluable to him who would understand its story, not only for the atmosphere of the time, but also for the light they throw upon the methods by which, and the energy with which, the trade was pursued—the same energy and methods that made such havoc in the early sea-otter days and that required all the resources and determination of the Hudson's Bay Company to overcome.

F. W. HOWAY

Pacific Northwest Americana: A Checklist of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest. Compiled by CHARLES W. SMITH. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1921. Pp. 329.

THE publication of a reliable bibliography is at all times a matter of interest to students at large and of congratulation to scholars versed

in the subject with which it deals. A good bibliography is both chart and compass: it shows how far any branch of the subject has been traced, and it indicates the direction to be followed by him who would seek the highroad, or by that other who would travel into the unknown. The impetus towards the study of local history which has arisen in the recent past has called for sectional bibliographies, in which place is found for material of a local and almost parochial nature, as well as for that which flows in the full stream of history.

The first effort to compile any sort of a list of authorities relating to the Northwest Coast was made by Hubert Howe Bancroft in connection with his series of Pacific Coast histories. The authorities, of every sort and description, cited in his histories of the Northwest Coast, British Columbia, Alaska, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana, with their repeated duplications, amount to about 2,500. For nearly thirty years these lists were the point from which all students and collectors of Northwest Americana took their departure. It may indeed be said, with much more than an atom of truth, that the real value of Bancroft's histories lay in these lists, in the footnotes, and in the collection of original manuscripts, many of which were prepared at his instigation and for his works.

In 1908 Mr. Charles W. Smith initiated a movement which resulted in the appearance in 1909 of a checklist of the items of Northwest Americana then in the thirteen principal libraries in the region formerly known as the Old Oregon Territory. The present work is an enlargement and revision, also under Mr. Smith's editorship. It contains more than twice the number of items listed in the edition of 1909. With certain duly stated exclusions it lists the printed historical material of the country lying north of California and west of the Rocky Mountains. It does not include manuscripts, documents (these being listed in Bowker and the *Monthly List of State Publications*), federal documents, periodicals published in the territory covered (unless mainly or wholly devoted to history), or maps. But even with these large exclusions it gives 4,501 items, although it should be added that each edition of any work listed takes its place as a separate item. The work was co-operatively prepared by the staffs of the principal libraries of the Pacific Northwest. It is, therefore, in no sense a commercial undertaking; it is a voluntary and valuable professional service made available by Mr. Smith's efforts for all students of the history of the Pacific Coast.

The new volume represents, or is supposed to represent, the combined resources of sixteen libraries, as against thirteen in the earlier edition. The Library of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia and the Library of the University of British Columbia are both, we are

glad to say, represented. While the work does not purport to be a bibliography in the true sense of the word, full and accurate bibliographical details are given of every item listed, and symbols indicate the libraries in which they are to be found. The book is well printed (though in somewhat small type) and well bound, and the matter, generally speaking, is well arranged. When the vast number of entries is considered and the enormous amount of clerical work necessary to reduce the contributed material to order and regularity is taken into account one can only express surprise at the general accuracy and completeness of the arrangement. Once or twice some slight confusion occurs, as in the case of the Cook items mentioned later, and in a number of places cross-references have been omitted.

One half of each page is left blank for the insertion of new items, for notes, corrections, cross-references, and other additions, according to the taste and industry of the student. This was indeed a wise precaution. It will enable those interested in the history of the region to correct the errors inevitable in such an undertaking, to keep the bibliography of the Pacific Northwest absolutely up to date, and thus to make future editions as nearly faultless and complete as such an enterprise can be.

While such a co-operative work shows where the Pacific Coast libraries are rich, it also shows in what respects they are poor. It may be that Carver, whose only connection with the Pacific Coast is his use of the word "Oregon", is given sufficient attention, though of the thirty-five editions of his *Travels* only nine are reported. But nothing can justify the slight attention paid to Captain Cook. There are twenty or more English editions of his *Third Voyage*, and about a dozen each in German and French. He gives the first account of the Pacific Coast and the manners and customs of its Indians, and yet only seven English editions, one German, and no French are reported. Of the *Anonymous* (Rickman's) *Journal*, the first complete story of Captain Cook's third voyage, not one of the sixteen libraries reports the first edition (1781); one reports the English edition of 1785, and another reports one of the French editions of 1783; and yet there are at least seven editions. The Cook items have been, unfortunately, rather jumbled together in the checklist; under the one heading are included the *Anonymous* (Rickman's) *Journal*, Ellis's *Authentic Narrative of Captain Cook's Third Voyage*, and the official account of the voyage by Captain King, with its various editions, summaries, and condensations. Only one copy of Ledyard's *Journal* of the voyage is to be found in the sixteen libraries; it is in the possession of the Library of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia. Not one of the contributing libraries reports the Crespi

and Peña diaries, being the records of the Spanish voyage of 1774, which were issued in 1892 by the Historical Society of Southern California. Of Dixon again, though the two-volume French edition of 1789, by Maradan, is reported, no library reports the rare, wide-margined, one-volume edition published by Maradan in the same year. Of Meares, also, no library has reported the two-volume Italian edition of 1796. The usual editions of Vancouver, the English quarto and octavo and the French quarto and octavo, are reported, but no mention is made by any one of the sixteen libraries of the neat little duodecimo issued in 1833 by Lecoite, nor of the two-volume German editions of 1799 and 1800. So, too, with Mackenzie, neither the one-volume edition (New York, 1803) nor the two-volume edition (New York, 1814) is reported. It is with pleasure that we note the extremely rare Jewitt *Journal* and eight editions of Jewitt's *Narrative* in the Library of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia; the Newberry Library in Chicago, which specializes in Indian captivities, reports nine editions, but two of these at least bear a different title. No copy of Fanning's *Voyages* is reported, though the second book (1838) contains the whole story of Astor's ill-fated ship, the *Tonquin*, from her launching to her destruction; the account of the latter purports to be given by the sole survivor, the native interpreter. Of Paul Kane's *Wanderings* it is observed that the Danish edition, 1863, is not in any of the sixteen libraries. These remarks indicate one of the real benefits such a compilation confers. It is a kind of stock-taking. Is it too high an objective to say that within these sixteen libraries should be found, and be available for students, not only a copy of every work, but a copy of every standard edition of every work relating to our coast?

With special reference to the province of British Columbia it is observed that some quite well-known books are omitted; there is a paucity of pamphlets, provincial directories, guide books, and purely local publications, and an omission of items relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway, a small library in itself.

F. W. HOWAY

Joint Report upon the Survey and Demarcation of the Boundary between the United States and Canada from the Western Terminus of the Land Boundary along the Forty-Ninth Parallel, on the West Side of Point Roberts through Georgia, Haro, and Juan de Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean. By the International Boundary Commission. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1921. Pp. 104.

THIS official report of the determination of the above-indicated portion

of the international boundary line is prepared in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII of the Treaty of Washington, April 11, 1908. The volume is well printed, well illustrated, and well bound. It contains the complete treaty, the appointments of the commissioners representing both countries, the formal agreement between them as to the manner of carrying out the work, an account of the field operations on both sides of the straits, and a detailed demarcation, with courses, distances, and bearings, of the tortuous water boundary through those straits. A fine chart, which is contained in a pocket at the back of the book, shows the entire boundary covered by the report and enables the ordinary reader to identify readily the points and islands mentioned therein. The technical work of the commission has, beyond doubt, been absolutely accurate, but they have seen fit to include as an appendix an alleged account of the explorations of the Pacific Coast region of North America, between latitudes 42°N. and 56°N., prior to 1818, of which as much can not be said. In truth this appendix can scarcely be condemned too roundly or too soundly. The merest tyro in Pacific Coast history should blush to emit such a farrago of mis-statements. Juan de Fuca, who has been decently interred for at least a generation, is galvanized into life as a real discoverer; Captain Cook is again made to anchor in Friendly Cove; the East India Company's and the South Sea Company's monopolies are again confused and confounded; Meares' crew still sail thirty leagues up Juan de Fuca Strait, and still find it fifteen leagues wide; Kendrick still circumnavigates Vancouver Island; and so on. All these statements have been corrected over and over again in the past twenty years, yet here we find them in full vigour in a government publication.

It would resemble the preparation of a catalogue to enumerate the other and smaller blunders, such as Fort Chipewyn, Fort James, Bull Finch, Cabo Fondosa, Tauchotee-Teese, William Clarke, etc., etc., etc.

But what else was to be expected from a compiler who calmly states that he prepared in 1921 this sketch from Greenhow's *Oregon and California* (published in 1844, and as all the world knows a brief for the United States on the Oregon question and not an impartial history) and Bancroft's *History of the North West Coast of America* (published in 1884)? Had more use been made of Coats and Gosnell's *Sir James Douglas*, the only other authority referred to by the compiler, some, at any rate, of the errors would have been avoided. This appendix should either be expunged or rewritten.

F. W. HOWAY

Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald: Selections from the Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald. Made by his literary executor, Sir JOSEPH POPE. Toronto: Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch. [1921.] Pp. xxvi, 502. (\$5.00.)

THE career of Sir John Macdonald is like no other in Canadian annals. He was the most influential figure in public life between 1847 and 1891. All the events of importance from the settlement of the Clergy Reserves to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway were affected by his political influence. He created a party out of elements the most discordant. To force of character he added great fertility of resource. If this were not enough, he possessed the art of winning men over to his side, and by reason of the gifts of sociability and a genial disposition he enjoyed a boundless popularity. During the last twenty-five years of his life he was the centre of political activity. The correspondence of such a man could hardly be anything but a rich mine of information. The collection of letters which his literary executor, Sir Joseph Pope, has now given to the world is, therefore, unique and interesting. To part of the familiar maxim, "Never write a letter if you can avoid it, and never destroy one," Sir John Macdonald seems to have adhered literally. He kept everything. There are five hundred letters in this volume. Yet they form less than one per cent. of the whole correspondence. The bulk of the correspondence, we are told, must await another day. The present collection, which contains the more important documents, is of the utmost value to the student of Canadian political history, and will grip the attention of the general reader like a vivid narrative. The letters are linked together by short explanatory paragraphs, and there are innumerable notes, chiefly biographical. The editor has performed his duty with skill and his labours must have been onerous.

The letters, apart from their intrinsic interest, perform a double service; they explain and illustrate the inner history of the period, and they reveal with unerring accuracy the character of the chief actor himself. At the outset there are fresh contributions to the question of Confederation. The uneasy alliance of Brown and Macdonald is manifest. Brown felt evidences of minor slights: "Of course it is painful to both of us to find ourselves in a Government with gentlemen who have not perfect sympathy with each other, but had you or Galt or Cartier been in my present case, I think I would have insisted on your names being referred to in the handsomest possible manner" (p. 16). On many points they were at one, and the alliance was effectual, if uncomfortable. Neither thought an appeal to the people necessary. Macdonald wrote to a supporter in February, 1865: "The Confederation

scheme has now been before the country for some time and it seems to meet with general, if not universal favour. I hear of no meetings against it, and as yet there have been no petitions transmitted adverse to the policy. Under these circumstances the Government have a right to assume, as well as the Legislature, that the scheme, in principle, meets with the approbation of the country, and as it would be obviously absurd to submit the complicated details of such a measure to the people it is not proposed to seek their sanction before asking the Imperial Government to introduce a bill in the British Parliament" (p. 21). Lord Monck, the governor-general, wrote to Macdonald from London in October, 1865:

I am much surprised to find how extensively but noiselessly the opinion that the colonies should be allowed to shape their own destinies, without interference on the part of the mother country, is working its way in the public mind. It is in our colonial policy the counterpart of "non-interference" in our foreign administration and derives its vitality from precisely the same set of feelings and motives (p. 29).

There are no revelations respecting the London Conference where the measure was framed. The Union came, and Macdonald's arts in producing political unity were taxed to the utmost. In a letter to Sir John Rose in 1872, he says:

I am, as you may fancy, exceedingly desirous of carrying the elections again; not from any personal object, because I am weary of the whole thing, but Confederation is only yet in the gristle, and it will require five years more before it hardens into bone. It is only by the exercise of constant prudence and moderation that we have been able to prevent the discordant elements from ending in a blow-up. If good constitutional men are returned, I think that at the end of five years, the Dominion may be considered safe from being prejudiced by any internal dissension (p. 165).

There had now arrived the period of Sir John Macdonald's greatest difficulties and sole disaster. The downfall of Sandfield Macdonald's coalition ministry in Ontario was the first blow. The discovery of the acceptance of money for election purposes from Sir Hugh Allan, head of the company that was to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, was the second blow, and this overbalanced the Dominion government. The letters respecting Sandfield Macdonald are new and indicate clearly that his impracticable temper was the principal cause of his defeat. The conduct of Edward Blake, R. W. Scott, E. B. Wood, and others who have been aspersed in this connection, seems to have been perfectly correct. "Sandfield", honest, crotchety, and tactless, brought his ministry to the ground. The Treaty of Washington (1871) also became a bone of contention. Macdonald's speech in parliament brought him praise, to which he was indifferent, but no votes, which he would have valued more. Sir Stafford Northcote wrote of the speech: "Mr.

Disraeli, who is not lavish in such matters, says, 'very good and statesmanlike' and that is the general verdict" (p. 170). Nothing was heard of the Pacific Scandal until after the elections, which were close with a great revival of the Liberal party in Ontario under Blake, Brown, and Mackenzie. The storm broke in 1873, and the letters on the subject are more remarkable for their revelation of Lord Dufferin's temperament and conduct than for additional light upon the event itself. Macdonald's defence has long been before the public who forgave him ultimately, with what consequences to the tone of political morality will probably ever be a matter of dispute.

Lord Dufferin possessed brilliant parts. His speeches are famous. As a constitutional governor, however, he was not to shine so conspicuously, and the correspondence shows that he at first lacked prudence, gravity, and reserve. His advisers, it is true, were in a sad plight, and the attacks of the Opposition tried him sorely. What Macdonald felt, pressed on all sides, with frightened colleagues and supporters about him, and a clamorous press, must be imagined. In the main his letters are cool and collected. Once, in writing to his friend, Sir John Rose, under date of February 15, 1873, he breaks out: "Entre nous [Sir Hugh] Allan seems to have lost his head altogether. He has made a series of stupendous blunders with respect to the whole matter and the Company is not yet out of the troubles caused by his imprudence. He is the worst negotiator I ever saw in my life. He is, however, accompanied by John Abbott, who will endeavour to keep him right." Lord Dufferin was eager to hear the debates in some concealed cage in the House. "You half promised," he writes, "to arrange for some little closet for me in the House of Commons from whence I could hear what was going on. I hope you will be able to see your way to gratifying my wishes in this respect. Considering how untrustworthy are the newspaper reports it is a matter of some importance that I should be able to hear with my own ears what passes" (p. 226). This irresistibly recalls the "royal lug" of King James I, which caused his dignified son Charles so much shame and discomfiture. Amid his other troubles, Sir John had to find time to meet his importunate governor, with whom he had every reason at the moment to stand well, by a well-reasoned refusal:

I doubt the prudence of your being *known* to be present at any of the exciting debates that we may expect at the beginning of the session. If, as I believe, we defeat the Opposition on the address, they will be sulky and savage and ready to wreak their vengeance on everybody and everything. The burthen of their speeches on the Commission will be that the Crown cannot know, or ought not to know, what passed in the Commons; that such knowledge is a breach of their privileges. Now if this is said in the presence of the representative of the Crown—actually at the moment taking cognizance of the proceedings, the temp-

tation to allude to such presence as a continuation of the breach, will be irresistible. One cannot foresee what form the allusion may take. It may be a mere notice that there are strangers in the gallery; it may be a direct objection to your presence as unconstitutional, or it may take the form of an insulting remark. The first supposition will clear the galleries and exclude the reporters. If the public are deprived of the debates thereby, the blame will be laid upon you. A direct attack on your presence would be very unfortunate, especially if accompanied by an insult. The Crown would be brought into contempt. This would be discussed in the newspapers here and in England, and I fear that it might be said that you had brought it on yourself. The Grand Remonstrance against the Crown's taking cognizance of the proceedings of the House, would be quoted *ad nauseum* and Mr. Holton would wax constitutionally indignant.

Lord Dufferin, therefore, was compelled to read the newspapers.

Macdonald resigned without waiting for the verdict of parliament. It has always been said that he did so to discount an adverse vote. A personal letter from the governor-general, however, conveys a significant intimation not to be mistaken. It is kindly, but its warning is plain:

It is with greater pain than ever I did anything in my life that I now sit down to write to you, but I feel it is but justice you should know the conclusions to which, I fear, I am being forced by a most anxious study of the evidence adduced before the Commission. Of course until an authentic copy of that evidence is placed in my hands, I am not required to arrive at a decision; it is not, therefore, as the Governor-General of Canada that I address you, but as a warm and sincere friend, desirous of putting you on your guard against eventualities which it is well you should provide against in time. I am the more anxious to do this as the friendly spirit I have evinced toward you during the course of this unfortunate business may have led you to count upon my support beyond the point to which I might find myself able to extend it. But, however deeply I may sympathize with you in your difficulties,—difficulties into which you have been drawn in a great measure by circumstances beyond your control,—I shall be bound to sacrifice my personal inclinations to what may become my duty to my sovereign and this country.

There was no other course for Macdonald than to resign. Henceforth, the secrets of campaign funds were more carefully guarded. In the same letter Lord Dufferin puts plainly the nature of the offence:

In acting as you have, I am well convinced that you have only followed a traditional practice, and that probably your political opponents have resorted with equal freedom to the same expedients, but as Minister of Justice, and the official guardian and protector of the laws, your responsibilities are exceptional, and your immediate and personal connection with what has occurred cannot but fatally affect your position as a minister (p. 229).

How the fallen prime minister relished this rebuke we are not told. Unlike his Highland forebears, he cherished no resentments. Four years went by, and in 1878 Macdonald, leader of the Conservative Opposition in Canada, wrote to Sir Stafford Northcote, leader of the British House of Commons and Disraeli's colleague, urging that the British government ask Lord Dufferin to remain in Canada for two years longer.

Sir John Macdonald's relationships with other public men of either party were remarkable. Edward Blake, while leader of the Liberal Opposition at Toronto, wrote to consult him respecting legislation which Sandfield Macdonald was putting through. There is friendly correspondence between Mowat and him over the latter's resignation from the Bench to enter politics. Sir John disapproves, but he does not quarrel. The two men seem always to have been on amicable terms. Even in 1887 when Mowat, as chairman of the inter-provincial conference at Quebec, asked Macdonald for a conference respecting the action of the five Liberal governments, the reply was civil: "My colleagues and I think that perhaps it would be better that you and I should first have an unofficial conversation as to the utility of the proposed conference." An official reception never took place. The political sagacity of Macdonald saw objections. Later governments took an opposite course, and several inter-provincial conferences have extorted better financial terms from the Dominion, and no one supposes we have seen the last of them. When Cartwright objected to Hincks as finance minister, he intimated his goodwill "towards yourself and the rest of your colleagues" (p. 100). Cartwright fell into deeper depths of hostility by the influence of A. T. Galt. "He [Galt] has seduced Cartwright away, and I have found out how it was managed. Cartwright and he formed at the Club last session a sort of mutual admiration society and they agreed that they were the only two men fit to govern Canada" (p. 128). The Pacific Scandal and the resultant Conservative *débâcle* undoubtedly disturbed some friendships, notably those with Galt, Donald Smith, and others. In course of time these breaches were all healed. Macdonald showed, in all cases, a readiness to be placated. His fearlessness is often in evidence. Sir George Stephen (Lord Mountstephen) threatened in 1889 a change in the attitude of the Canadian Pacific toward the government. Sir John replied:

My dear Stephen,—I was rather "irate" on first perusal of your note of the 11th. The charge of unjust treatment of the C.P.R. at my hands, and from *you*, seemed to me inexplicable—but an angry discussion won't help matters. I shall do my duty to the country according to the best of my judgment and suffer even the threatened hostility of the Company if need be. . . . I wish you would read Charles Reade's novel of "Put Yourself in His Place." I am sure if you were one of the Ministry you would act as we are doing, but you, I fear, look only on matters from one point of view (p. 456).

The railway president promised to get the book so as to learn how to regard things from more than one standpoint. The letter to the Duke of Connaught on the appointment of an imperial officer as commander of the militia, with its insistence on the Canadian point of view, is another illustration of firm but polite rejoinder (p. 475).

The allusions in the correspondence to Canada's imperial relationships are frequent, and some of them significant. Macdonald was an imperialist with the strongest bias toward Canadian self-government. He dealt with each issue as it arose, and was not prone to vague, general conclusions. Every step taken must keep in view the preservation of the tie. In 1871 he wrote to Lord Lisgar: "I hope to live to see the day when the British Empire will be considered as a unit and the interchange of commodities will be as free from duties between the United Kingdom and its colonies as has been the case since 1800 between England and Ireland" (p. 156). This was, however, before Protection. In 1885 he outlined to Sir Charles Tupper, the High Commissioner, the views of the government on the question of sending Canadian troops to the Soudan; the time had not yet come for volunteering military aid to the Mother Country; the occasion was not opportune, and Australia's offer was no precedent for Canada; "the reciprocal aid to be given by the colonies and England should be a matter of treaty, deliberately entered into and settled upon a permanent basis" (p. 338). As to the status of the High Commissioner: "We do not desire to give him a free hand on any subject in discussion with the Imperial Government. He must take his instructions from the Government here, as much as Sir Julian Pauncefote from Lord Salisbury, and cannot travel out of the four corners of any minute in which his name is mentioned" (p. 472). As to Imperial Federation (1888), "this is so vague a term that until some scheme is worked out for consideration no decided opinions for or against it can be framed. . . . Anything like a common legislature with powers in all similar to that of the British Parliament is altogether impracticable" (p. 422). Upon the method of selecting the governor-general he sent the following cable to Tupper: "Canadian Government consider the present system of appointing the governor-general perfectly satisfactory and would greatly regret any change; reference to government here for nomination or approval would introduce a disturbing element and might eventually lead to election of governor, a change to be deplored" (p. 433). There is a letter possessing a timely significance from Sir Charles Tupper, dated December, 1888:

If I were H.M. Government I would offer you a peerage and the position of Minister at Washington as my answer to Sherman's insulting proposal to buy Canada. I realize fully the great advantage of having an able English statesman with influence here occupying that position, but as the duties devolving upon the British Minister at Washington are almost altogether in connection with Canada, and the United States complain so bitterly of the circumlocution and time lost in sending to England—back to Canada—back to England, and then back to Washington, and so on *ad infinitum*, I would meet their objection by sending a Canadian Statesman to Washington. It would not only give to the world the

best evidence of the determination of England to make a common cause with Canada, but also shew us in the most striking manner the fixed determination to make our interests the paramount consideration (p. 431).

The bestowal of imperial honours, closely allied to the general question, forms the theme of many references. Macdonald's belief was that the recipients of such honours should be selected with the greatest care. At first he held that they should be given for imperial services only, but as time went on he saw the need of such distinctions in the service of Canada, though his recommendations were based on grounds acceptable to Canadian feeling. An amusing incident transpires in the correspondence. Sir Daniel Wilson declined the rank of Knight Bachelor on the ground of his preference for a K.C.M.G., but his refusal was greeted as a rebuke to such distinctions generally. His letter (p. 411) makes his position quite clear, and his ultimate acceptance was in no wise inconsistent.

Even the most exhaustive review of this work could not hope to present an outline of its varied contents. It adds greatly to our knowledge of events, and imparts some colour to what is often a drab narrative of national development. It enables Sir John Macdonald to speak for himself in intimate fashion. It shows how great a place he filled and why. The effect of the book will be to stimulate the study of Canadian history during the period that followed the federation of the provinces.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Reminiscences of a Raconteur: Between the '40s and the '20s. By GEORGE

H. HAM. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. [1921.] Pp. xvi, 330.

PROBABLY no other man in Canada knows so many people, and certainly no other man has so many friends as the author of these *Reminiscences*. George Ham gave the wine of life to the press gallery of the House of Commons thirty-five years ago. He has redeemed a thousand public dinners from weariness and dullness. He has escorted unnumbered delegations of people representing all professions and interests across the continent, and they were all the wiser and the happier for his companionship. He has written as he talks, freely, humorously, and humanly. No book could be freer of the flavour of malice or depreciation. He writes as a man without enmities or prejudices.

There is much in the book for which future generations will be grateful. Nowhere else have we a better description of pioneer days in the Red River country, of the birth-pangs of Winnipeg, of the booms that collapsed, and the things that endured. We have intimate and illuminating stories of the North West Mounted Police and of the North West rebellion, in which Mr. Ham figured as a correspondent.

He says a kind word for General Middleton, who was neither understood nor well treated in Canada, and again and again he writes a sentence full of charity for people who have no panegyrists to glorify their ashes. There are stories of Lord Lorne and the Princess Louise and of every other governor-general down to the Duke of Devonshire. One thinks that he discovers evidences of special affection for Earl Grey and the Duke of Connaught.

Mr. Ham gossips also about almost every outstanding figure in public life since Confederation. In few cases does he reveal any symptom of partisan feeling, although no one could ever doubt to which party he belonged. His pride in the Canadian Pacific Railway and the great men who have made its policy, created its spirit, and developed its remarkable efficiency, is not concealed, and one feels that no man could have had a happier service than he has had in his long association with the company.

It must be said that there is no method in the book. There is no sequence of dates or of incidents. The author is here at one moment, and on the next page he is far away. But his story is told in the way that George Ham must tell it, and it is wholesome and pleasant throughout. Future writers will profit by what he has done, and all Canadian journalists will rejoice that one of the best-beloved of all their tribe has shown us so frankly just what manner of man he was, and saved for us so many of the things they have heard from his lips and would be sorry to forget.

J. S. WILLISON

Nos Historiens. Par HENRI D'ARLES. Cours de critique littéraire professé à Montréal sous les auspices de l'Action française.

Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1921. Pp. 245.

THIS volume consists of six lectures delivered in the Library of Saint-Sulpice, Montreal, during the session of 1920-1921. Henri d'Arles is the pseudonym of a French-Canadian ecclesiastic, the abbé Henri Beaudet, and his book appears in the series of the Bibliothèque de l'Action française. Three other volumes belong to the same series: *La naissance d'une race*, *Lendemain de conquête* and *Vers l'émancipation*, all written by the abbé Lionel Groulx, and already reviewed here (vol. I, pp. 307-8, 396-402; vol. II, 278-280). These publications, one must know, represent the output of the French-Canadian Nationalist school of thought, which owns M. Henri Bourassa as leader and adviser.

Henri d'Arles's essays are devoted to the life and work of French Canada's most notable writers on history. The author deals successively with Jacques Labrie, Joseph-François Perrault and Michel Bibaud ("Les maîtres primitifs"), F.-X. Garneau, Louis-Philippe Turcotte,

the abbé J.-B. Ferland, M. Thomas Chapais, and the abbé Lionel Groulx. The book, on the whole, is disappointing. Nothing either novel or impressive in point of information, criticism, observation, or style occurs throughout its two hundred and fifty pages. These essays, moreover, especially the preliminary one on French-Canadian literature, are overburdened with quotations, sometimes irrelevant, and often far-fetched. Even at that, one beautiful line of Victor Hugo is sadly misquoted (p. 10). The author lacks discrimination and equipoise, and is too often carried away by enthusiasm. Thus, Bibaud, mediocre historian as he was, is termed "une manière de génie" (p. 82). L.-P. Turcotte's *Le Canada sous l'Union*, which is nothing more than a laborious compilation, is described as "une oeuvre de haute valeur . . . fortement construite", in fact "a masterpiece" (pp. 152, 140, 153).

Yet the most objectionable feature of these historical essays is their bias, their narrowness of view, and their provincialism. The abbé Beaudet treats our historians as the abbé Groulx treats our history. Quoting from the abbé Ferland these words, "I have studied and treated the history of Canada as a French-Canadian and a Catholic" (p. 178). M. d'Arles enlarges upon them by adding, "Inutile d'insister sur la qualité de ce point de vue: *il est le seul qui soit acceptable si l'on veut comprendre quelque chose à notre histoire*" (*ibid.*). This is the way "a son of the light" (p. 74) respects the dogmas of "history, mistress of truth" (p. 53). And so having pronounced the Reformation "a monstrosity" (p. 105), he extols the orthodoxy of Labrie, of Bibaud, of abbé Ferland, of L.-P. Turcotte, and the ultramontanism of M. Chapais. On the other hand, he condemns "the dangerous principles" of Garneau (p. 97). That is, he upbraids the liberal-minded historian for denouncing the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the exclusion of the Huguenots from New France, and Bishop Laval's undue interference in the civil and political domain (pp. 111-115). Strange to say, however, the abbé Beaudet, boasting as he does of complying with the rules of "scientific criticism" (p. 46), uses and quotes exclusively from the expurgated third (1859) and fourth (1882) editions of Garneau's *History of Canada*. Except for purposes of disparagement, he ignores the latest and definitive fifth edition (Paris, 1913-1920). Here, again, he follows closely in the footsteps of the abbé Groulx. It may be added that both seem to be imperfectly aware of the existence of British, American, and Anglo-Canadian historiography. With so many shortcomings and limitations the book will make no appeal to scholars and students of history. At best the general reader may find it interesting.

HECTOR GARNEAU

War Government of the Dominions. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History: Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series.) Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. xvi, 354.

THE scope of this new treatise by Professor Berriedale Keith is well indicated in the author's preface:

This work is an attempt to describe the influence of the war on the activities of the governments of the Dominions and on their relations to the government of the United Kingdom. The question has been treated in the main in its political aspect; it would have been impossible within the limits of space available to deal in any adequate detail with the economic problems which faced the Dominion governments, or the modes in which they were handled, and these topics will form the subject of special monographs. Even in the case of political issues it has been necessary to select only those items which are of chief practical importance, and to pass over problems whose interest is predominantly legal. Attention has in the main been concentrated on the events in the period prior to the ratification of the peace with Germany; it would be premature yet to estimate the effect on Imperial relations of the proceedings at the Geneva meeting of the League Assembly.

Within the limits here laid down the book is a contribution of primary importance to the constitutional history both of the British Empire and of the individual Dominions. It is a commonplace of politics that the war profoundly affected even the structure of governments. As Professor Fairlie showed in his *British War Administration*, published by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in its "Preliminary Economic Studies of the War", the constitution of Great Britain was so altered during the war that it might almost be said that the standard books on the subject have been rendered out of date. The same is true with regard to the constitution of the Empire and the constitution of Canada, as of the other Dominions. In the present volume Professor Keith has brought up to date, however, the authoritative treatment given to this subject in his *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (1912) and in his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* (1916); and the three works, taken together, afford the most complete conspectus available of the constitutional history of the British Empire during the past century.

From the standpoint of imperial relations the most important chapters are the first three, which deal, successively, with "The Framework of Empire Government before the War", "The Dominions and the United Kingdom, 1914-1916", and "The Imperial War Cabinet and the Conferences", together with perhaps the chapter on "The Peace Conference and the Status of the Dominions". In these chapters there is nothing particularly new, with the possible exception of an elaboration

of Professor Keith's argument as to the essential identity of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial Conferences, under peace conditions, but as a survey of the question of imperial relations during the period of the war they are unsurpassed. Then follow a number of chapters in which the individual Dominions are dealt with. Some of these, notably those entitled "The Economic Activities of the Dominions" and "The Expeditionary Forces of the Dominions", are rather sketchy in character, and the student of Canadian history, for instance, will find in them comparatively little that is new or valuable. But for the chapters on "Constitutional Developments in the Dominions" and "The Federal Constitutions under War Conditions", constitutional historians in each and all of the Dominions must profess themselves profoundly grateful. Certainly there has been published in Canada nothing so penetrating and authoritative as Professor Keith's discussion of the changes in the constitutional position of the governor-general, or of the obsolescence of the imperial power of disallowance, or of the shifting of the respective spheres of Dominion and Imperial legislation; and the section on "The Dominion and the Provinces" is a contribution of distinct value to the history of the struggle for provincial rights in Canada. Even in the chapter on "The Dominions and Native Races", there is a valuable note on the enfranchisement of the Canadian Indians. At the end of the volume there is a full, though necessarily incomplete, bibliography.

There are so many points in Professor Keith's pages which invite comment that one is at a loss to know where to begin. Some very pregnant paragraphs are devoted to a consideration of the "restrictions on the legislative authority of the Imperial Parliament" (pp. 266-269). In these paragraphs Professor Keith virtually assents to the argument of General Smuts and Sir Robert Borden that the British parliament no longer possesses, as a matter of constitutional right, sovereign legislative power over the Dominions: "Imperial legislation can apply to a Dominion only with the full assent of that Dominion, which normally will be expressed by a resolution of its Parliament" (p. 267). In this connection, however, Professor Keith points out the peculiar and inconvenient position of Canada, where changes in the constitution are possible only when they are non-contentious. In case serious opposition should arise to a proposed amendment to the British North America Act, it is probable that the imperial parliament would refuse to legislate, and this fact introduces into the Canadian constitution a rigidity so great that Professor Keith seems to think it desirable that some means should be found for introducing amendments without having to invoke the aid of the imperial parliament.

Another interesting passage is that dealing with the diplomatic repre-

sensation of the Dominions, in which the proposal to have a Canadian minister accredited to Washington is discussed. Professor Keith's attitude toward this proposal is somewhat critical, without being hostile. "There was obviously every reason," he says, "for deprecating the formal division of the Empire which would arise from the presence of two representatives at Washington of equal status, and the adoption of the general principle of separate representation" (p. 173). In regard to the compromise actually arrived at, he lays stress on the objections made by the leaders of the Liberal Opposition in the Canadian parliament, and he emphasizes the admission elicited during the debate from the Canadian Minister of Justice that the appointment of the Canadian envoy "would be made by the King on the advice of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the usual form, and not merely on the advice of the Dominion Government"—a fact which, he points out, "interposes a possibility of objection on the part of the Imperial Government".

Perhaps, however, the most striking passage in the book is that in which Professor Keith takes his place alongside those who favour the abolition of the right to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. "The fact", he says, "that the Commonwealth High Court not unsuccessfully interprets the Commonwealth constitution indicates that there are few questions with which the local courts cannot effectively deal, and that there is no sufficient ground to justify the retention of the present system of appeals" (p. 288). With this view many Canadians who are convinced nationalists will find themselves in disagreement. The situation in Canada differs radically from that which exists in Australia. The fact that Canada contains within its borders two peoples so diverse in language, religion, and civil law as the French and the English makes it desirable, from this point of view at any rate, that there should be in important cases the right of appeal to a judicial tribunal removed from the sphere of racial strife and passion. No matter how high the character of the Supreme Court of Canada there is always the danger in difficult cases of a difference of opinion between the French and English members of the court, and of a breakdown of justice similar to that which took place in the case of the Supreme Court of the United States before the American civil war. Nor is there implied in the right of appeal any derogation from the status of Canada as a self-governing Dominion; the appeal is nothing more than the submission of a legal dispute to an outside impartial tribunal for arbitration—a procedure which, it will be remembered, has scriptural warrant.

The fact, however, that Professor Keith should espouse a view maintained by the advanced school of Canadian nationalists serves to show how sensitive he is to the currents of opinion in the Dominions.

This is, indeed, one of the outstanding merits of his book. Despite his profound legal knowledge and his training in the Colonial Office, he writes with a feeling for the trend of public opinion in the Dominions which lends to his work a real air of authority.

W. S. WALLACE

An Empire View of the Empire Tangle. By EDWARD O. MOUSLEY. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. W. F. MASSEY. London: P. S. King & Co. 1921. Pp. 87. (3 sh.)

THE great value of this unpretentious little book is that it is symptomatic. Written by a New Zealander who has been educated in England, it is evidence that the problem of Empire is gaining ever widening consideration. Unfortunately, Mr. Mousley's training has been too much along legal lines, and he thus approaches the issues with a rigidity of mind which in reality cannot do much to solve the political dilemmas and constitutional antinomies which he states in all their bald truth. Perhaps obvious contradictions are the essentials in the legal anomalies which are faithfully set out. It may appear, when everything is at last regularized, that international and constitutional law are, after all, only forms, and that a problem unknown before in political thought has yielded to a solution also unknown. Mr. Mousley is overcome by the fact that he cannot square the Empire with the rules that he finds in the books. On the other hand, he has enough insight to see that institutions are alone valuable in so far as they reflect political education, and he closes with a note of warning against premature experiments.

The book lacks form. Indeed, it is offered to the public as a collection of press-cuttings. The first chapter consists of a series of cuttings from Dominion newspapers in which the "consciousness of nationhood" seems to be the main theme, and this is considered against the fact of empire. The desire for some "machinery" to "function nationally and internationally" appears to be gaining ground if the press is any index to the mind of the empire. Mr. Mousley has omitted any cuttings from the Quebec papers. Had he read them during the last year, for example, he might see how solid a group there is in Canada against any constitutional changes. As it is, his cuttings leave an entirely false impression of Canadian public opinion.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

The First Assembly: A Study of the Proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations. By a Committee of the League of Nations Union, including Lord ROBERT CECIL and Lord PHILLIMORE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1921. Pp. viii, 277.

THE author of the first two chapters of this book suggests that for

purposes of familiarizing the public with the proceedings of the League, or at all events of enabling it to visualize its exterior aspects, the use of the cinema might be of great value. The descriptions of the first appearance of the leading characters in the Assembly themselves bear considerable resemblance to the "close-ups" thrown on the screen in a cinema theatre, presenting the actors in typical and suggestive attitudes. No doubt the element of the dramatic was felt in the first meeting of the Assembly, although that of confusion probably predominated. This confusion appears in this book in evidences of varying points of view. The editor was perhaps wise in not trying to reconcile them. He would, perhaps, have been well advised to insist that a few verbatim quotations from speeches are more effective than attempts to summarize every point of view advanced. However, the book, as a whole, is valuable, and it ends with a chapter of reflections by Lord Robert Cecil which is really admirable.

Canadians will find special interest in the prominence of Mr. Rowell "with his clear vision and intellectual rectitude". It is not unamusing to note that his very obvious statement of fact about Dominion control of domestic affairs, on which such ridiculous emphasis was placed in some quarters at the time of the meeting, was received by the British delegates with "calm and even somnolent approval" (p. 118).

Three matters of importance are considered in this compendium. There is first an excellent chapter on the question of publicity, in which is suggested a sound and useful distinction between publicity and propaganda. Clearly a wide publicity for the proceedings of the Assembly is of the utmost importance. There is a sense, and a very important sense, in which words are deeds. The creation of an international public opinion, and its continuous expression by people whose business it is to be occupied in settling international differences, is a vital part of the League idea, and the wider the publicity given to the facts and the discussions that arise, the more rapid will be the growth of a world-wide comprehension of international problems that is the essential prerequisite of world peace. Undue emphasis is perhaps laid upon what the members of the Assembly describe as their executive functions. There is nothing to be gained either by over-estimating what the Assembly has been able to accomplish by executive action or by minimizing the importance of establishing an enlightened opinion. The Assembly can perform immense service by being the vocal organ as well as the critic of the Council.

In respect of propaganda it is very wisely suggested that the League of Nations Societies at various centres should make it their business to see that the proceedings of the Assembly are available in a convenient

form and with illuminating comment and explanation to the largest number of people possible in every part of the world and in every language. It is, unfortunately, particularly true of Canada that many public documents of the utmost importance are scarcely obtainable by any but a small number of students, and are never explained in a way that could convey their meaning to the average man and woman.

The second important business of the first Assembly consisted in the beginnings of a discussion as to the relative functions of the Council and the Assembly. There are many points in which their duties at least partially overlap. In general, it might seem that to the Council would ultimately belong the duty of intimate discussion and executive action, and to the Assembly that of criticism and expression of the growing body of international tradition.

Thirdly, the formation of the six committees into which the Assembly divided itself occupies a considerable space, and is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

Finally, Lord Robert Cecil provides some admirable reflections on what was accomplished in the first meeting of the Assembly, on the remarkable and rapid development of cohesion in its structure, and on what he feels it can accomplish. It clearly has one duty, and there can be none higher, and that is that of creating a new patriotism. The number of people who are able to think in terms of any wider area of the world's surface than that of their own nation is exceedingly small. National patriotism with its limited boundaries of sympathy is in itself the product of education, and it is education that is needed for the creation of a new power of thinking in terms of the whole world, not in the sense of imagining all the elements that go to make the world as being similar, and being able to love humanity because it is all alike, but rather to find satisfaction and admiration from its differences. This involves the raising of opinion to a higher spiritual level, the creation of a new human consciousness, and it is upon the success of this process that the growing effectiveness of the League of Nations must depend and not upon the more easily constructed foundations of international law.

A. J. GLAZEBROOK

Economic Aspects of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Ship Channel. By ROY S. MACELWEE and ALFRED H. RITTER. New York: The Ronald Press Co. 1921. Pp. 291.

THE qualifications of the writers of this work to discuss their subject with scientific precision is unquestioned. In it we are given a treatment of a highly controversial matter in a spirit of judicial fairness which is

admirable. Before making their investigations, the authors "had formed an immature judgment that ocean vessels on this route could not compete with existing routes serving the Northwest". Their former erroneous impressions, "derived largely from reports submitted many years ago, when the conditions and costs of transportation . . . were very different from what they are at the present time," have been dispelled by a fuller study of the factors affecting the costs and advantages of the various available routes and methods of transportation; and in this volume they "have endeavoured to present conservatively the more important local and national advantages to be gained from opening the Great Lakes to ocean traffic."

They have chosen an appropriate occasion for the presentation of the results of their investigations. The reports of the United States and Canadian engineers concerning the physical problems of such a great waterway are in the course of completion; the project has been the subject of consideration by the Canadian parliament, and it has been widely discussed throughout the country. The sessions of the International Joint Waterways Commission at the important centres in the United States and Canada during 1920 and 1921 have elicited strong support of, and some violent opposition to, the project. During the past summer (1921) a large body of representative United States citizens and legislators have taken a trip through the lower lakes and their connections and down the St. Lawrence waterway, in order to study at first hand the problems connected with the proposed ship channel, and they have become firmly convinced that such a development would be of immense advantage to both the countries concerned, not only in furnishing a great waterway between the ocean and the interior of the continent, but also in providing a large amount of electrical energy for transmission over a wide territory north and south of the international boundary. There is reasonable certainty that this proposal will occupy the attention of the United States Congress during the approaching winter. From all these considerations, the appearance of this impartial study of the whole scheme is most timely.

The need for this additional means of transportation is clearly shown by the present inadequate railway facilities of the United States. The shortage of cars and the inability of the railways to handle the available traffic expeditiously have resulted in great losses and in the hampering and discouragement of production, both in agriculture and industry. For this reason fleets of motor trucks are paralleling the railroads, and in so doing they are causing great destruction of the highways. The increased utilization of waterways is imperative, and among these waterways the one under consideration is of paramount importance:

Irrespective of the actual saving in cost to the shipper, which will be very large, the substitution of short rail hauls to the Great Lakes in place of long rail hauls to the Atlantic seaboard will result in a vast improvement in the general transportation conditions of the country. At the Atlantic seaboard terminals of the United States the inadequate facilities for transferring cargo from railway to vessel add a very heavy cost to the expense of haulage, and because of these handicaps the pursuit of foreign trade is much impeded. On the Great Lakes, terminals can be constructed which will avoid the costly errors made at Atlantic ports and will afford the facility of movement which is necessary both to the shipper and to the economical operation of the vessel. Moreover, the Great Lakes route will eliminate transfers on a vast amount of business and will reduce the number and cost of transfers on an equal or greater amount.

By such arguments, the authors dispose effectively of the view that shallow waterways, like the New York State Barge Canal, can be of material assistance in the solution of the transportation problem.

Full details are given as to the routes which traffic will take from the interior of the continent to the European points of demand and the length of each of the routes. Great advantage will accrue in this respect when cargo can be loaded at Chicago, Duluth, and other lake ports, and conveyed, without breaking bulk, to the foreign market. The avoidance of transfers at the Atlantic ports and at some interior points, like Buffalo, will reduce greatly the expense of carriage. It is on general cargo, however, that the greatest saving will result, because of the higher rail rate and the higher costs of handling such cargo. "These savings . . . are so substantial as to indicate that a deep waterway penetrating the Great Lakes will be not only desirable, but indispensable to the future prosperity of the Northwest." A detailed consideration of the territory and the enterprises on this continent which would be immediately benefited by this waterway is presented by maps, charts, graphs, and statistics which show the vast range of interests which would receive new stimulus.

A brief history of the improvements for navigation on and between the Great Lakes is followed by a discussion of the benefits which have accrued from these improvements in the way of reduced freight rates, etc. In logical succession there follow a comparison of the navigation facilities at the Great Lakes ports with those at the ocean ports; a discussion of the dimensional character of the navigation which ought to be provided on the St. Lawrence for economic efficiency; a comparison of the St. Lawrence with other ocean routes; and sections on the depths required for the accommodation of vessels engaged in ocean trade, the commerce outbound and inbound along this waterway, the shipbuilding industry on the Great Lakes, and the tremendous importance of the water-power developments along the St. Lawrence.

The mention of these subjects is sufficient to show how vitally significant is this book; and the marshalling of facts, not for propaganda, but in the interest of scientific truth, contributes in the most precise and illuminating way to our knowledge of a subject of great international importance.

W. T. JACKMAN

The Conservation of the Wild Life of Canada. By C. GORDON HEWITT.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. xx, 344; illustrations.

THE author of this valuable and interesting book, which was apparently finished shortly before his untimely death in February, 1920, was Dominion entomologist from 1909, and from 1916 consulting zoologist as well. The latter appointment he probably owed to his interest in the general fauna of the Dominion and his efforts, before the Commission of Conservation and elsewhere, to obtain adequate protection for the various forms of wild life threatened with extinction in Canada from unrestricted hunting. The work before us for review constitutes his latest and most complete statement of the case for the protection and preservation of the many species of wild animals and birds for which Canada is the chief and in some instances the only remaining habitation on the American continent. Everybody is familiar with the story of the rapid disappearance of the buffalo, which, within the recollection of living men, once roamed the whole of the western prairies literally in millions. Some have heard also of the total extinction of the passenger pigeon, which, again within the memory of living men, ranged in flocks of many millions over the whole of the United States and parts of Canada, and of which not one living specimen now exists. The cause of the disappearance was, in both cases, the greed and mania for slaughter of professional hunters, and the absence of any salutary and effective legislation to protect the general interest of the community which manifestly lies in the preservation and utilization of such natural resources. But for governmental regulation, many other valuable species of animals and birds would now be in process of extinction. Some, indeed, are still in danger in spite of game laws. The object of Dr. Hewitt's book is to open the eyes of the public to their true interests in this matter, and to arouse public sentiment so decidedly in favour of wild life protection that neither legislation nor its due enforcement can safely be omitted by any government, whether in Canada or in the United States.

Life all true lovers of nature, Dr. Hewitt is keenly alive to the aesthetic or sentimental reasons for the presence in the landscape of the beautiful and appropriate creatures which are found in great variety wherever man has not succeeded in chasing them away. But he bases his main

argument on grounds of utility. Man requires animal food, and he also affects the skins of animals for his clothing in the colder regions of the earth. A large portion of Canadian territory, consisting of the sub-arctic forest and the barren grounds, is useless for agriculture or for civilized habitation, but it is an unrivalled feeding and breeding place for caribou, musk-oxen, bears, and all the minor fur-bearing animals. Here is a source of national wealth which will endure as long as the country itself, if drawn upon with due moderation. The caribou is almost as numerous as were the buffalo and affords a potential meat supply. The fur-trade, he boldly says, should be taken over from the existing companies and private hands and administered by the Dominion government, thus eliminating altogether the individual trapper and trader, whose interest is by no means in preservation, but in as rapid a destruction as he can accomplish during his own life-time.

Dr. Hewitt makes a strong case for the absolute necessity of protecting bird life. Birds not only supply flesh for food and feathers for warm coverings, they are also indispensable allies in man's ceaseless struggle against insects. It has been stated that, if all bird life suddenly came to an end, in five years' time there would not remain upon the earth one blade of grass or a single living leaf. All our agricultural ingenuity and enterprise would be wasted labour were it not for the insect-eating birds. Not only, therefore, for their beauty and attractiveness, nor even for the use to which we can put their carcases, but for their incalculably great activity in destroying the destroyers of our farms and gardens, must birds be protected and encouraged more and more to live amongst us. The passenger pigeon is gone, the great auk also and the Labrador duck, the Eskimo curlew is practically extinct, the eider duck nearly so. These should be our warnings and it should not be possible for a future generation to add to the list of extinct species the mallard, the wood duck, the whooping crane, the sandpiper, the woodcock, the golden plover, the bob-white or quail, all of which are now alarmingly decreased in numbers, and without proper protection may be hunted to the last remnant. There are, it is true, game laws in the several provinces which limit the killing of various species of birds and animals to certain seasons or years. It is not so much legislation for which Dr. Hewitt pleads, as that enlightened public sentiment which alone makes the enforcement of such legislation possible.

In the matter of legislation, perhaps the most beneficial form has been the setting aside of great tracts of uncultivated territory as national parks or game reservations, in which all hunting is forbidden or only permitted exceptionally. The Rocky Mountain Park, the oldest in Canada, established in 1887, now includes large and increasing flocks

of mountain sheep and goats, which elsewhere in the mountains are by no means so plentiful. The animals find that they are unmolested in these sanctuaries and become quite indifferent to the presence of human beings. Birds are especially susceptible of being tamed if entirely undisturbed. One of Dr. Hewitt's most suggestive chapters is that in which he outlines methods of protection and encouragement to birds that may be successfully adopted even in so small a space as a city garden.

H. H. LANGTON

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

BRETT, OLIVER (ed.). *The First Assembly: A Study of the Proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations*. By a Committee of the League of Nations Union, including Lord ROBERT CECIL and Lord PHILLIMORE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1921. Pp. viii, 277. (\$1.10.)

Reviewed on page 296.

CARMAN, FRANCIS A. *Our Common National Policy* (Canadian Magazine, October, 1921, pp. 441-444).

A note on the "essential agreement among our political leaders in regard to our place within the Empire."

GREAT BRITAIN, DOMINIONS ROYAL COMMISSION. *Final Report*. London: Printed under the authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1918. Pp. xv, 498.

To be reviewed later.

JONES, H. L. and SHERRATT, C. *A History of the British Colonies*. London: University Tutorial Press. 1921. Pp. xii, 187. (3sh. 6d.)

An elementary text-book.

KEITH, ARTHUR BERRIEDALE. *War Government of the British Dominions*. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History: Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. xvi, 354.

Reviewed on page 393.

LAW, ERNEST. *Commonwealth or Empire: Which Should it Be?* London: Selwyn and Blount. 1921. Pp. 122. (5sh.)

To be reviewed later.

SHERRILL, Hon. CHARLES H. *The British Empire After the War* (North American Review, November, 1921, pp. 594-602).

An entertaining account of recent developments in the sphere of imperial relations.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

D'ARLES, HENRI. *Nos historiens: Cours de critique littéraire professé à Montréal sous les auspices de l'Action française*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1921. Pp. 243. (90c.)

Reviewed on page 391.

GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M. *America's Norse Discoverers: the Wineland Sagas translated and discussed*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 304.

Reviewed on page 369.

- JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY. *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library, in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island*. Vol. I, Parts I and II. Providence: Published by the Library. 1919. Pp. vii, 511.

The first instalment of a catalogue of "the only important library in the United States devoted to collecting Americana printed before the nineteenth century." In this first volume are included all titles up to the year 1600.

(2) The History of New France

- C., F. X. *Jean Baptiste-Louis Franquelin* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 178-182).

A biographical sketch of the map-maker who was in the last quarter of the seventeenth century royal hydrographer of New France, together with a list of his maps.

- CHARLAND, FR. P. V. *Deux plans (partiels) de Québec, datés de 1758* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 201-207).

An account of the information contained on two old plans of the town of Quebec in 1758, which, taken together, afford a partial census of householders in Quebec at that time.

- CLARKE, JOHN M. *Un monument à Jacques Cartier* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 195-197).

Publication of the translation of a letter written to the Minister of Marine at Ottawa by the director of the State Museum of New York, advocating the erection of a monument to Jacques Cartier on the Gaspé coast.

- Les Officiers des troupes du Canada en 1701* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 271-279).

A document from the Public Archives of Canada giving the names, ages, birth-places, and duration of service of the military officers in Canada in 1701.

- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'Anéantissement d'une industrie canadienne sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 193-200).

An interesting and fully documented chapter in the economic history of New France, dealing with the prohibition of the manufacture of hats in the colony.

- *Les premiers messagers de la Nouvelle France* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 211-213).

Some notes on the beginnings of a mail-service in New France.

- ROY, P.-G. *Le gouverneur Perrot et le supplice de la cale-sèche* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 280-282).

A note on the punishment of "dry ducking" which the English inflicted on François-Marie Perrot, governor first of Montreal, and then of Acadia, after his capture in 1691.

- *Les conseillers au conseil supérieur et la noblesse* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 257-260).

A discussion of the question whether membership in the Superior Council of New France carried with it the rank of nobility.

- ROY, RÉGIS. *M. de Chaste* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 214-215).

A biographical sketch of Aimar de Chaste, the French nobleman who succeeded Chauvin in the monopoly of the Canadian fur-trade in 1601.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

BLUE, CHARLES S. *Canada's First Novelist* (Canadian Magazine, November, 1921, pp. 3-12).

A biographical sketch, based on original research, of Frances Brooke, the wife of the garrison chaplain at Quebec from 1763 to 1768, and the author of *The History of Emily Montague*, which has some claim to be regarded as the first Canadian novel.

BURNETT, EDMUND C. (ed.) *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. Volume I: August 29, 1774, to July 4, 1776. Washington: Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1921. Pp. lxvi, 572.

To be reviewed later.

CHAPAIS, THOMAS. *La politique canadienne en 1835* (Le Canada Français, vol. vii, no. 1, pp. 38-53; no. 2, pp. 107-130).

A detailed study of the political situation in Lower Canada prior to the rebellion of 1837.

FROIDEVAUX, HENRI. *Désintéressement de la France à l'égard du Canada entre 1775 et 1782* (Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises, VIe ann., pp. 485-491).

Deals with the policy of France in regard to Canada during the period of the American Revolution.

GAUVIN, D. (comp.) *Almanach du centenaire, 1816-1916, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon*. Paris: Renaudie. [n.d.] Pp. 359.

An almanac commemorating the centenary of the final restoration of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to France in 1816.

GROULX, Abbé LIONEL. *Louis-Joseph Papineau* (L'Action française, October, 1921, pp. 589-608).

A discussion of Papineau's place in Canadian history fifty years after his death.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *When Newfoundland Saved Canada* (Canadian Magazine, September, 1921, pp. 415-421).

The story of a small contingent of Newfoundlanders who were recruited at St. Johns, Newfoundland, in 1775, and were brought to Quebec, where they helped to repel the American invasion.

PAINE, SILAS H. *Soldiers of the Champlain Valley* (Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association, vol. xvii, pp. 300-428).

An alphabetical list of inhabitants of the Champlain Valley who fought in any of the early wars, including the War of the Revolution. "No attempt has been made to edit the manuscript, and the Historical Association does not guarantee its accuracy."

(4) The Dominion of Canada

ALDEN, PERCY. *Canada Revisited* (Contemporary Review, October, 1921, pp. 462-469). Reflections of an English visitor to Canada.

BAZIN, RENÉ. *L'auteur de "Maria Chapdelaine": Louis Hémon* (Revue des deux mondes, Ier octobre, 1921, pp. 528-554).

An account by a French academician of the life in Canada of the author of *Maria Chapdelaine*, Louis Hémon. A number of Hémon's letters from Canada accompany the text.

FITZPATRICK, F. J. E. *Sergeant 331: Personal Recollections of a member of the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police from 1879-1885*. New York: Published by the Author. 1921. Pp. v, 126.

To be reviewed later.

HAM, GEORGE H. *Reminiscences of a Raconteur, between the '40s and the '20s*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1921.] Pp. xvi, 330. (\$3.00).

Reviewed on page 390.

MCCONNELL, HOWARD. *Canada's Ambassador to Washington* (Canadian Magazine, September, 1921, pp. 353-361).

A discussion of the wisdom of the decision of the Canadian government to have a Canadian diplomatic representative at Washington.

POPE, SIR JOSEPH. *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald: Selections from the Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B., First Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch. [1921.] Pp. xxvi, 502. (\$5.00).

Reviewed on page 384.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

MAYO, LAWRENCE SHAW. *John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, 1767-1775*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1921. Pp. viii, 208.

Reviewed on page 373.

RAICHE, J. *Les Acadiens du diocèse d'Antigonish* (Le Canada Français, octobre, 1921, pp. 131-141).

An inquiry into local history, the value of which is diminished by a lack of reference to authorities.

(2) The Province of Quebec

AUDET, F. J. (ed.). *Habitants de la ville de Québec, 1770-1771* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 218-224; no. 8, pp. 247-252).

A street-directory of Quebec, prepared in 1771.

BÉCHARD, AUGUSTE. *La Gaspésie en 1888: Deuxième série des pages canadiennes*. Québec: L'Imprimerie nationale. [n.d.] Pp. 130.

Local history of recent date.

BOYD, JOHN. *The Prime Minister of Quebec* (Canadian Magazine, October, 1921, pp. 493-497).

A biographical sketch of the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, the successor of Sir Lomer Gouin as prime minister of Quebec.

GUIMONT, Chanoine C.-R. *Le droit paroissial*. Montréal: L'Action Française. 1921. Pp. 360. (\$1.25).

A dissertation on the parochial law of the province of Quebec.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Allocutions judiciaires, à Montréal, au XVIIe siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 8, pp. 229-233).

Some documents bearing on the early history of seigniorial justice in Montreal.

———. *Les actes de mariage du fort Saint-Frédéric* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 261-270).

The marriage register kept at the French post at the head of Lake Champlain (later Crown Point) between 1732 and 1759.

MAGNAN, HORMISDAS. *La paroisse de Saint-Nicolas. La famille Pâquet et les familles alliées*. Québec. [n.d.] Pp. viii, 334.

A parish history, with a genealogy of the Pâquet family.

MONDOU, SIMÉON. *Les cimetières catholiques de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 283-288).

Historical notes on the cemeteries of Montreal.

ROUILLARD, EUGÈNE. *Les noms géographiques de la province de Québec* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 102-107; no. 3, pp. 166-170).

Notes on the geographical names of the province of Quebec, covering those beginning with A and B.

———. *Souvenirs d'une croisière sur la côte nord du Golfe St.-Laurent* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 79-89; no. 3, pp. 153-165).

Geographical notes on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BALBAUD, PAUL. *Toronto: Impressions de Séjour* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 171-174).

Notes on Toronto revisited.

PIERCE, LORNE. *James Laughlin Hughes, LL.D.* (Canadian Magazine, November, 1921, pp. 57-62).

A biographical sketch of a prominent Ontario educationist.

(4) The Western Provinces

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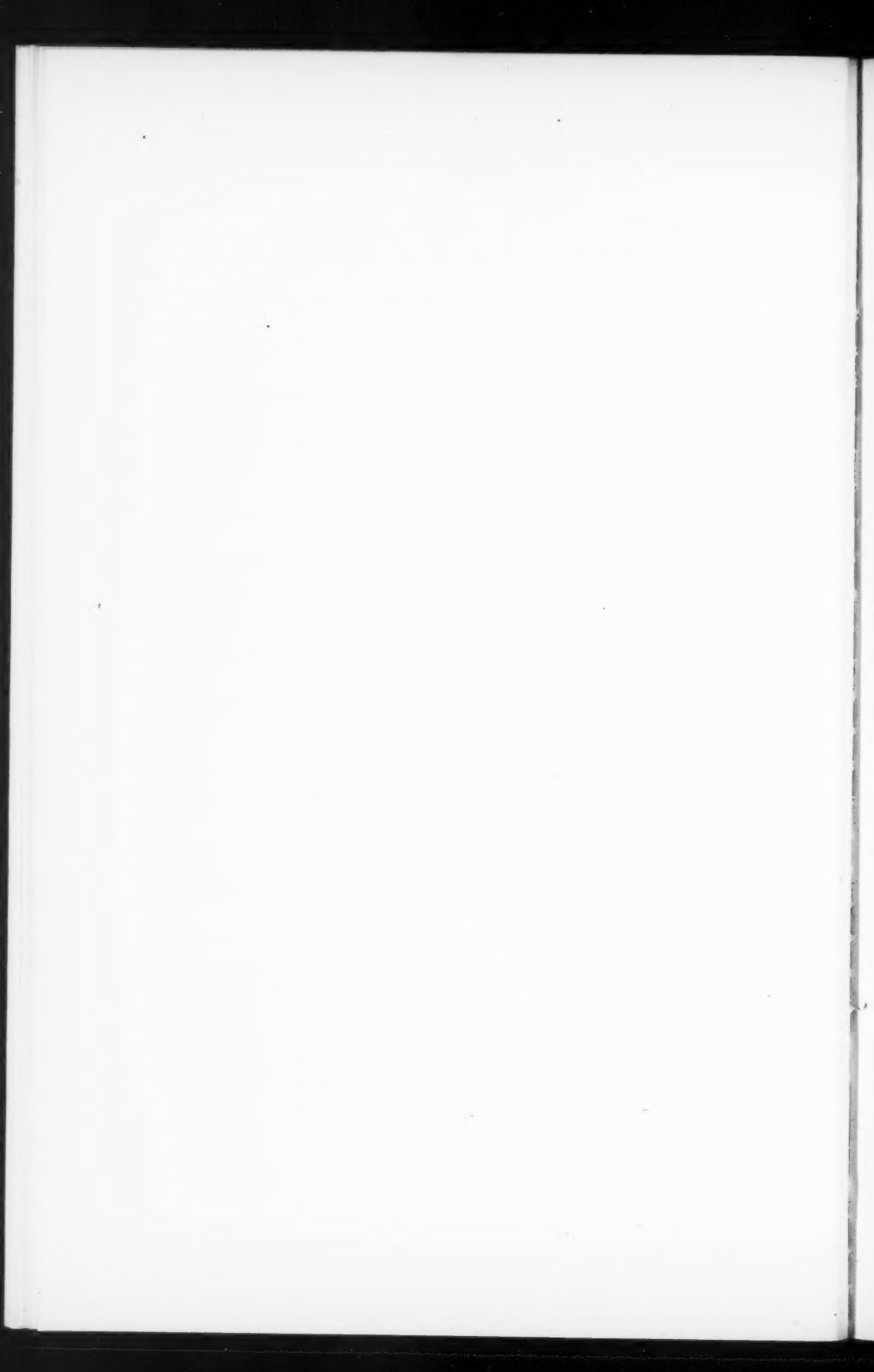
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Section 7 (1). Unless excused for reasons hereinafter mentioned, every adolescent between sixteen and eighteen years of age shall attend Part Time Courses of Instruction, approved by the Minister, for an aggregate of at least three hundred and twenty hours each year distributed as regards times and seasons as may suit the circumstances of each locality when such Courses of Instruction are established in the municipality in which he resides or is employed. This section of the Act is to be effective September 1st, 1923.

Section 9. On and after such date as may be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation, every urban municipality with a population of five thousand and over shall and any other municipality or school section may, through the authorities hereinafter named, establish and maintain Part Time Courses of Instruction for the education of adolescents between fourteen and eighteen years of age. This section of the Act is to be effective on September 1st, 1922.

The full text of the Act will be found in Chapter 78 Ontario Statutes 1919. A copy of the law in pamphlet form can be obtained by application to the Deputy Minister of Education, Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

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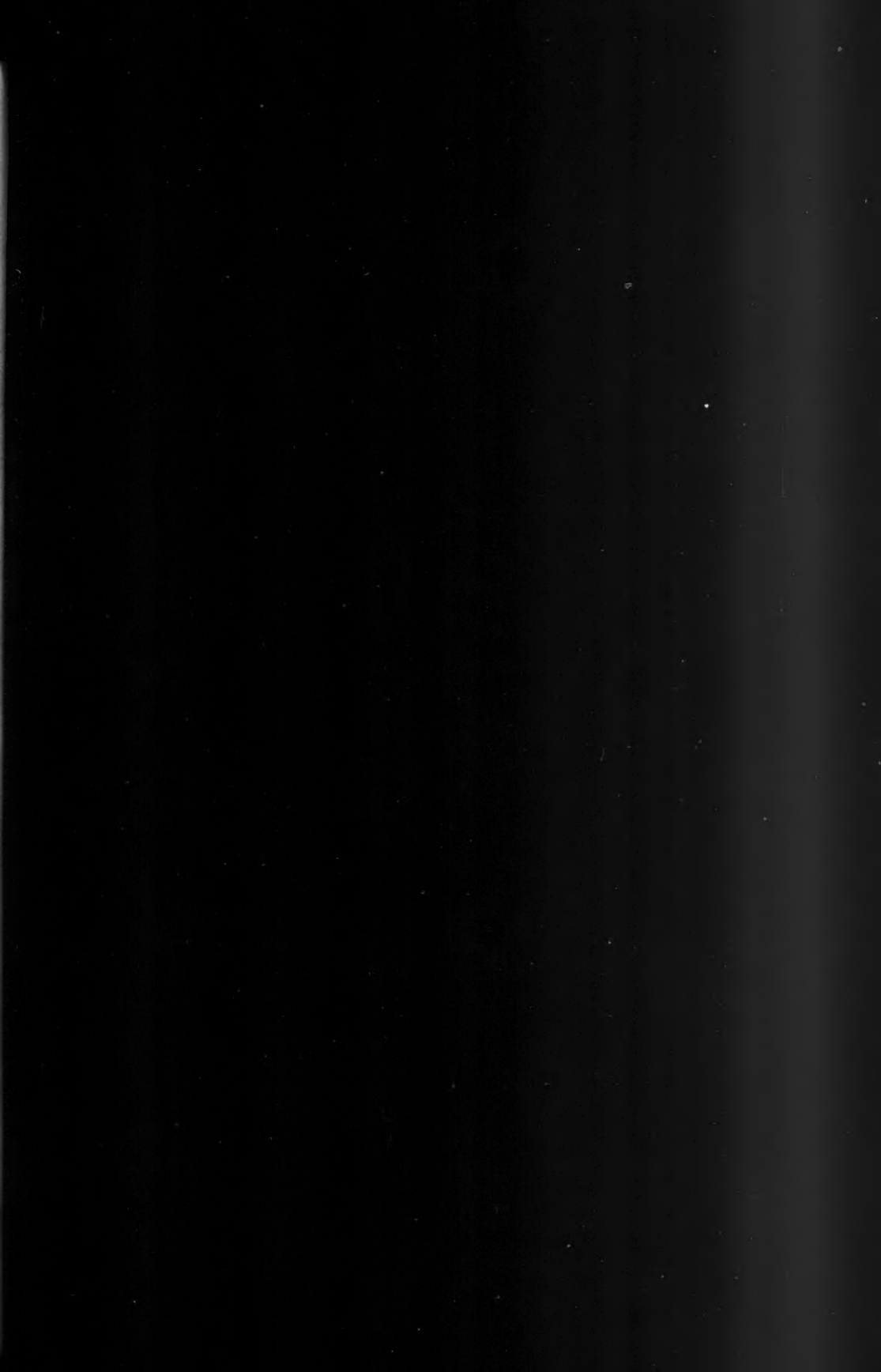
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